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THE JEWISH REVIEW

DITED BY ORMAN BENTWICH AND DR JOSEPH HOCHMAN

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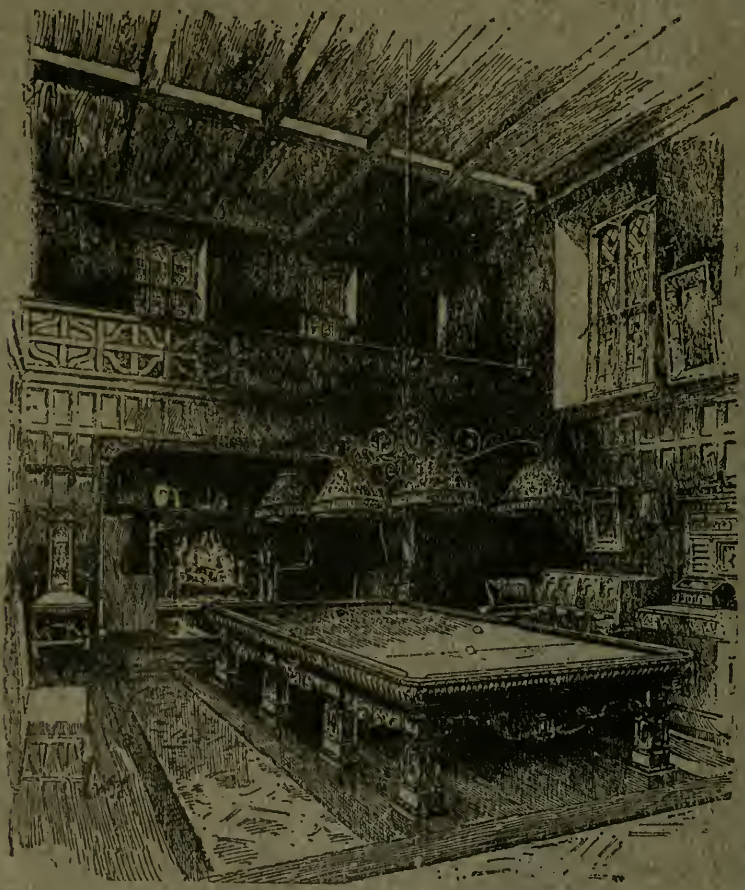

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The Jewish Review

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Edited by NORMAN BENTWICH AND DR. J. HOCHMAN

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EDITORIAL NOTES

The Cloud of anti-Semitism

LAST year the complacency of Anglo-Jewry was rudely shaken by a sudden outburst of violence against the Jewish shopkeepers in the towns of South Wales. This year its complacency has been uncomfortably disturbed by a continuous campaign of slander against the leading Jewish representatives in the public life of the nation. The appearance of a weekly paper which has as the chief plank in its programme a bitter attack on Jewish influence, the more veiled but not less venomous campaign against Jewish capitalists which has been prosecuted by a new daily paper, and, still more ominous, the readiness of some of the most respectable journals in the country to take up a cry emanating from these poisoned sources, which was mainly directed against the personal integrity of the Jewish members of the Cabinet—these are unparalleled and untoward features of English public life. It is as easy as it is imprudent to scent out an anti-Semitic movement in the personal spite of disappointed individuals, but it is difficult to disregard the cumulative effect of these symptoms or to shut our eyes to the attempt which is being made in this country of liberty to arouse the old prejudices against the Jew. No doubt the poison at present only affects a small section of the nation; no doubt the journals which direct it are generally held in contempt; no doubt the Jew still enjoys in England an equality such as he has in no other land; but none the less it is disquieting that the attack has been endorsed by representatives of very different shades of opinion—Tories, Radicals, Socialists, and Suffragists. We cannot forget also that the anti-Semitic movement in France started in much the same way, worked up by a few unprincipled adventurers, and affecting originally only an insignificant class, but gradually permeating masses of the ruder people, and finally exploding without warning, in a pseudo-national crusade. It was said at the time of the Welsh disturbances that the anti-Jewish feeling was only directed against a few foreign Jews, and was merely a violent expression of the dislike of the alien. But that solace—if solace it is—cannot be administered in regard to the more recent agitation, which is directed not against the foreign immigrant but against the most English members of the community. The motive of the charges raised to-day is not that the Jews are a separate unassimilating element, but that they take too large a part in English national life. There is almost a tragic Nemesis in this outbreak of prejudice just at the moment when English Jews have attained an unexampled place in civic affairs. Like Wolsey, Anglo-Jewry has, to its own hurt, served its king better than its God.

Jewish financial power excites a prejudice which is regrettable but inevitable; for it is a power which appears to the vulgar to be acquired not for the good but against the welfare of the nation. And the brilliant success of Jews in other walks of life—especially in politics—arouses envy, because again it appears to spring from individual self-assertion and not to be bound up with the progress of any great cause. By our tradition we should be the champions of spiritual ideals; by our conduct we are marked as the worshippers of success. As Achad Ha'am pointed out years ago in the case of the French Jews, outward freedom has brought with it inner servitude. The shadow without may induce a reform within. If it does not foster an ideal at once Jewish and humanitarian, Anglo-Jewry will pay the penalty which has been paid by every Jewish community that has neglected its spiritual heritage. A Jewry strongly entrenched on Jewish teaching and standing firmly for a better ordering of society, could face without misgiving any agitation, however unscrupulous and however prejudiced. Without fuel no fire can blaze, and anti-Semitism could not flourish were it not for the materialism, some of it gross, some of it more refined, of a large section of Jewry. Our best defence against it is, by a sincerer attempt to grapple with the problem of Jewish education, to make our religious ideals a living influence.

The Jews and Agriculture

THERE is a widespread idea that the Jew has an inherent distaste and an ingrained incapacity for life on the soil ; and the Editor of the *American Jewish Yearbook* has done well to include in his publication for this year a very informing article on the "Agricultural Activities of the Jews" which should help to dispel the popular fallacy. As the writer points out, " there never was a time when Jews did not engage in agriculture, and this notwithstanding the vexatious restrictions designed to uproot them from the soil and force them into industrial and commercial life. The present-day movement towards the soil is mainly the result of the removal of the restrictions that made agriculture to the Jews a forbidden or a hazardous occupation." In Biblical times, and so long as the Jewish people had a home in Palestine, agriculture was their chief vocation ; and the Bible is the book of a nation which loves the land and the work of the land. And it is in Palestine that the modern " back to the land " movement had its origin, and has attained its most striking results. Stung by Cobbett's taunt that " the Israelite is never seen to take a spade in his hand, but waits like the voracious slug to devour what has been produced by labour in which he has no share," Sir Moses Montefiore, at the beginning of the Victorian era, conceived the idea of introducing agriculture among the Jewish communities of the Holy Land. The movement advanced with Oriental leisureliness; but in 1870, the *Alliance Israelite* founded an agricultural college near Jaffa, and a few years later some of the Jerusalem Jews settled themselves in colonies and began to plant vineyards. It was, however, the outbreak of Russian persecution in the 'eighties which gave the great impetus to Jewish agricultural colonisation, adding to the sentimental feeling for Palestine a powerful incentive to emigration. While the great stream of Jewish exiles from Russia flowed to the new country in the West, some thousands made for the old home in the East, and of them a considerable number returned to the old way of life. Settlements were established along the plain of Sharon, the ridges of Carmel, and the valleys of Galilee, and though for a time the colonists had to undergo the hard experiences of pioneers, thanks to the generous aid of Baron Edward de Rothschild, they held on and multiplied. To-day there are forty-one Jewish colonies on the land, with a population of nearly 10,000 souls and occupying 80,000 acres of land. Where the Jews have established themselves they have restored the ancient fruitfulness of the soil, and, at the same time, they have recreated the Hebrew language as a living tongue. The growth of the Jewish colonies has opened men's eyes to the needs and possibilities of Palestinian agriculture; and there has recently been founded near Haifa a Jewish Agricultural Experimental Station, where a distinguished Jewish agriculturist, Professor Aaronsohn, himself bred in a colony, is engaged on striking investigations which have enlisted the interest of the scientific world.

There appears in this number of the *Review* an article by Dr. Klausner on the future of the Jews in Palestine, in which he argues the necessity of a Jewish proletariat if the country is to become a Jewish spiritual centre. He seeks to controvert certain conclusions put forward by Achad Ha'am in our pages, after his last visit to the country, as to the incapacity of the Jew for becoming a peasant. Though, however, Achad Ha'am does not deny the possibility of creating a small Jewish peasant population, his judgment as to the general unfitness of our people for the rougher kinds of agricultural work seems well founded. But the use of machinery is making the rough human labour unnecessary, and the agriculturist of to-day uses his head as well as his hands. For agriculture of this kind the Jew soon proves himself remarkably well-fitted.

The Jewish agricultural population of the New World is far more numerous than that of the old Jewish land. Baron de Hirsch sought to establish for the persecuted Jewish myriads of Russia a home of refuge in the Argentine Republic, where they could live untrammelled by religious bigotry and political oppression. In the eight colonies founded by him and administered by the Jewish Colonisation Association, to which he made over his immense trust-fund, over 20,000 Jews are settled who farm over 1,000,000 acres. And in the United States, where his munificence came to the support of a powerful movement among the Jewish communities, there are still more Jews living on the land. The Jewish Agricultural Society has come into touch with nearly 4000 Jewish farming families, and it is calculated that these do not represent much more than half of the total Jewish agricultural population in the States. The colonies in Canada are less numerous, but 700 Jewish settlers have there taken up Government land. The remarkable growth of Jewish farming has taken place almost entirely within the last decade, and in the words of Professor Loeb, whose death is just recorded, " we stand at the threshold of an era wherein the ratio between town and country dwellers among the Jews will be that imposed by Nature rather than by restrictive tyranny." The only agricultural enterprise which started in Anglo-Jewry did not meet with success; but the return of the Jews to the soil in other lands, and especially in Palestine, must command our interest; for the whole of history shows that a living culture can only spring from contact with the soil: and from the return of the Jewish people to their original vocation we may expect a revival of the old Jewish spirit. Several English Jews are associated with the land movement in England which aims at freeing the land for the people; they would be serving humanity no less if they took part in the movement for freeing the Jewish people for the land.

The Balkan War

THE war in the Balkans is racial, rather than religious or economic. The Turks recognise it as such, and the appeal of Nazim Pasha for the restraint of religious passions, that the various races of the Turkish Empire may ultimately settle down to peaceful co-operation for its welfare, was in painful contrast with the impertinent cry of "cross against crescent" which was raised by the allies. The fortunes of war, so far, have turned against the Turk, and general sympathy seems to be on the side of his antagonists. The contrast between Jewish sufferings under Slavonic rule and the contentment of the Jews in the Mohammedan Empire must justify what sympathy Jews may feel with the Jewish subjects of the Sultan, who are readily making the great sacrifices they are in duty bound to bring to the cause of their sovereign.

The Jewish people, alone unarmed in the midst of an armed world, may well be regarded as the barometer of the world's righteousness. There are no guns behind the Jews, and the Jews are massacred with impunity under Slavonic rule.

The guns behind the Christians in Turkey were at least as great a provocation to the Turk as was the sympathy of the Powers with the Jews in Russia to the Tsar. If we read the Jewish barometer, then Righteousness, which can so rarely take sides in a modern war, seems to tend towards the Turk. Jews have appealed, as vainly as frequently, for the fulfilment of those conditions of the Treaty of Berlin in which Jewish interests are involved. It is at least unfortunate that the Slav, than whom no people is more ingrained with the single-nation-state idea or less tolerant towards subject races, should be left to champion the fulfilment of those very conditions in Turkey.

We join in the hope expressed by Mr. Lloyd George that, whatever the outcome of the war, the frontiers of good government will be extended. But we doubt the possibility of its realisation by the extension of Slavonic dominion, and we entertain the further hope that the Powers will adhere to their expressed resolution to allow no change in the way of territorial aggrandisement.

The Biblical Lessons: A Chapter on Biblical Archæology

(*Continued from page* 218)

In the reading of the Maamadot of Genesis, ch. I, verses 1–5 is called a great Parasha, and 6–8 a small Parasha, and it is said that the great Parasha is read to two persons and the small Parasha to one person. The reading is as follows: The first person reads verses 1–3, and the second 3–5, and the third 6–8, each one three verses. The second day (Monday) verses 6–13 divided in the same manner, the third day (Tuesday) verses 9–18, the fourth day (Wednesday) 14–22, the fifth day (Thursday) 19–24, and the sixth day (Friday) verse 23 to chapter II. 2. Here we have then the small section called Parasha just like the larger section mentioned above. Occasionally other sections in the Prophets and Holy Writings are mentioned by the name Parasha, but quite exceptionally. No other word is used for the designation of these sections, no other title ever alluded to, no other was so deeply rooted as this word for denoting the Sections. In the oldest Halachic Midrashim, notably in the Sifra, belonging probably in its original form to the second century, this very division has still been retained, with the name of Parasha. Occasionally this Midrash has preserved also the name Dibbur or Dibra, which has been mentioned above. It would be perhaps hazardous as yet to discuss the name of Parashiyot in the old Halachic and Agadic Midrashim unless we have established the contention on unassailable ground that down to a very late period, perhaps down to the sixth or seventh century, no other name has been applied to these sections.

In what manner were these sections used for the liturgy in the Temple and outside the Temple? We shall have to distinguish between the use made of special sections of the Law or the Pentateuch for select occasions like New Moon, specially appointed days in the Bible for holy observances, when additional sacrifices had to be brought, and when other ritual ceremonies were prescribed to be performed in conjunction with sacrifices such as heave-offering (the Ōmer), the firstlings (Bikkurim), etc., and the other readings of the Law in the Temple, like the reading by the King on the Jubilee. In addition to these we shall have to consider the consecutive reading of the Law for didactic purposes and in the liturgy. Here we are face to face with a difficult problem, not easy of solution. What was the form of the worship of the Jews outside the Temple? They could not offer up sacrifices on those specially appointed days and seasons. What kind of practice did they institute in order, as it were, to perform so sacred a duty incumbent upon them? That they had synagogues cannot be doubted, places of assembly for worship and prayer, and no doubt also for study. That they gathered on festive occasions, especially on Sabbaths, New Moon, and other great days, requires no proof. The evidence given at the beginning of this article satisfies us amply on that head. It does not affect our question, what kind of service they had in the Temple of Yeb, or rather Assuan, as disclosed by the papyri. The references are too vague to allow us to come to a definite conclusion. But a careful examination has satisfied me that no real sacrifices were sanctioned. Only incense offerings, and other bloodless offerings, seem to be referred to in these precious fragments of the past. In the Temple of Onias in Alexandria, we are distinctly told that they read the Law publicly; no mention is made of any sacrifices. The service of the Maamadot may help us however, if not to solve, at any rate to approach the solution of these problems, and if we study in addition the Samaritan liturgy and some other indications in the history of our own liturgy, what may have been an hypothesis will be raised to a certainty. We have, moreover, the unanimous tradition of Jews and Samaritans on this point, namely, that in addition to the first chapter of Genesis other portions—Parashiyot—were selected in their entirety and read one after the other; and that on such special occasions, like New Moon, New Year, Pesacḥ, etc., those small sections—Parashiyot—in which the observance of that special day was enjoined, or the actions to be performed on that day were described, these sections were read in lieu of the sacrifices in which they could not take part, the Temple being too far away. This whilst the Temple existed. And still more so, when they were no longer in a position to perform them after the destruction of the Temple. In the liturgy, notably in that of the special days, we find, in fact, incorporated in the part of the prayer such short sections or Parashiyot taken from the Bible which refer to the special character of the day.

The Samaritans on their part have not only retained the first chapter of Genesis, reading that also in small portions every day like the Maamadot did in olden times, but they call them almost by the same name as they are called in the Mishna, "The Chapters of Creation," *Kiṣṣe deberiah*, and then they read a whole series of short Parashiyot or Ḳṣiṣin, as they call them, inserting as we do precisely the same Parasha from the Pentateuch on the several special occasions, notably when they happen to be on the Sabbath. The reading of the Shemă is also the Samaritan practice. We find later on in the Talmud a question by R. Napḥa on the fact of these two sections being arranged in an order contrary to that in Deuteronomy. The first Mishna of Berachot already speaks of the reading of the Shemă as an old-established custom, and calls it by the initial word Shemă, although it embraces three independent sections. (It is unfortunate that all this part which gives us a clear insight into the liturgy of the Samaritans has been entirely omitted by Dr. A. Cowley in his edition of the Samaritan liturgy. Not a trace is left, and the references that are made sometimes in the text are therefore absolutely unintelligible.) I refrain from referring to the other parts of our liturgy, consisting of a mosaic of Biblical verses, selected with a view to the festival, or the special occasion when they are to be recited, such as verses referring to the Sabbath or New Moon, or on other occasions such as in the Selihot the Musaph Amidah of New Year, etc., collected together. On an elaborate scale this practice is found among the Samaritans and Karaites. This is mentioned here for the purpose only of showing that there was a further development in the introduction of Biblical verses in the liturgy after the time when the use of the smaller portions had become rigidly fixed. The part forming the prayer proper in which these had taken their place did not exhaust all the requirements of the service. The people were not satisfied with the shorter sections which merely informed them on occasions of the Biblical injunction referring to the importance and character of the day they were celebrating. The Bible could not remain to them a closed book, and probably the reading of the Law in its entirety preceded the order of the service proper. The latter found its expression by the worship in the Temple, and by such devotional exercises as they were ready to institute in imitation of the Temple worship. But the study and reading of the Law stood by itself, and it was not confined to the centres of the learned. Tradition tells that the institution of the public reading of the Law goes back to the very beginnings of the foundation of the people as the People of God. Throughout the Bible we read, "Thou shalt meditate on it," and "Thou shalt read it"; and, "Delight in the Law." It is too well known to require any further proof that the study of the Law was considered a most meritorious act, and to read publicly in the Law was to make it possible for others to partake of that merit. As far back as our tradition goes, public reading and private study of the Law seem to be an integral part of the religious life of the people. I am dealing with these questions later on when following up the course which these practices have taken during the centuries, but no one denies the fact that the Law was read publicly to the people, as mentioned by Josephus, Philo, etc.

The question which we have now to face is: Upon what system was this reading of the Law carried out? Here again the same old tradition informs us that Ezra had appointed that the curses in Leviticus should be read before the Feast of Weeks and the curses in Deuteronomy before the New Year. This is a definite starting-point which shows unmistakably that the reading of the whole of the Pentateuch must have been completed in one year, otherwise it would have been impossible so to regulate the reading that these portions should fall in their consecutive order at those fixed periods. It is impossible to imagine that only select sections could have been meant, for there would have been then no reason to fix a definite period. The rule which is laid down that close upon four months must elapse between the last chapter of Leviticus and Deuteronomy XXVII. and XXVIII., gives us just the space required for the two books (Numbers and Deuteronomy I.–XXVII.), whilst the other seven months could be allotted to the first three books of the Pentateuch. The month of Tishri was given up to the reading of the select sections referring to the Festivals and Holy Days. The tradition in the Mishna knows, in fact, no other division of the Pentateuch; it assumes the annual cycle, and the discussion as in Megillah, 29 ff., turns on finding a way to adjust the reading of the weekly portions with the additional readings for special Sabbaths, such as the four special Sabbaths before Pesach, or that Sabbath on which

Rosh Hodesh may happen to fall, meaning the Sabbath in Chanukah. The question was, how to arrange for the reading of Parashat Nesiim (the portion of the offerings of the princes) or those in which the Shekalim, Amalek, and others are to be mentioned in conjunction with, or in lieu of, the regular weekly portion. These and all the other references to the reading of the Law presuppose only an annual cycle.

How was the Bible then divided? Into weekly Portions. The old division into Parashiyot was not touched. There is no new larger portion which breaks up the smaller section or begins in the middle. It is always a Petuka (rarely a Setuma) which separates the preceding from the succeeding portion. The only change which has taken place, if change it be, was to give to the word Parasha a somewhat different and more restricted meaning, which becomes more and more identified with the weekly portion, to the detriment of the older application of the word, causing thereby some confusion. Anyone who finds, for instance, either in the Samaritan Letter or in the Rabbinical documents, the name of one of the divisions quoted as Parasha has no doubt as to what it really means. The difficulty arises when reading older documents, Mishna, etc., and to some extent the Sifra, to understand exactly what was meant by that term. The meaning of Parasha as weekly portion became soon an established fact. The Samaritans, who call their smaller portions Kissa, have chosen the same word Parasha, writing it like the Hebrew, but pronouncing it Barasha, to designate the weekly portion into which they divide the Bible. This investigation has not the aim of proving that the Torah was read publicly. The question which we are pursuing and endeavouring to settle is the manner in which the public reading, and to a certain extent the private study and reading, was carried out. Was there no other system except the annual? Is there no trace of any different system of reading found in the literature clearly and unmistakably enunciated as such? And do we find in the Palæography of the Biblical text any indication or justification for such an assumption? These are the main points and to these we shall adhere. It was necessary to establish, in the first place, the primary division into Parashiyot or Sections as the very basis for the division of the Law into Portions. I have then proceeded to trace the way in which these smaller Sections were used in the public worship in the Temple by the High Priest, and by the King on the one hand, and by the delegates as Maamadot in private worship. The latter has shown us how certain portions were read, in what may be termed a semi-private worship. It was only carried on during week-days and by a select few. We have, moreover, seen that other Sections—Parashiyot—were embodied in the service outside the Temple, i.e. in the Synagogue, and on special occasions, notably on the Sabbath, New Moon, Festivals, etc. Furthermore, that in accordance with the whole Jewish tradition, the Law has been divided into as many portions (lessons or Perikopes) as there are weeks in the year. The number has been fixed at fifty-four. During the year there are at least a few Sabbaths on which Festivals occur, for which separate readings have been instituted. These larger portions have also been called Parasha, and have assumed the names of the initial smaller Parasha or section with which they begin. The name by which the latter was known was transferred to the weekly lesson. Originally, no doubt, the first and the last of the smaller Parashiyot were mentioned in order to circumscribe and define exactly the extent of the weekly portion. But later on, the custom having become deeply rooted, it sufficed to mention only the name of the initial small Parasha.

Now the fact that these portions are quoted by the initial words is the best proof possible that they had been already established for a long time, and that the Bible had been subdivided for public readings in such manner, for the mere reference to the first word was enough to characterise the portion meant. The reference to Lekh Lekha, or Noah, was quite sufficient for the people to understand to what it referred. The Samaritans, in fact, have retained the older form of quotation. Originally the portion was, e.g., from Lekh Lekha to the portion Vayera, or Miḳḳeṣ to Vayeḥi, and the Samaritans to this very day so designate their Portions, although in some instances for brevity's sake they quote only the beginning (*v.* Letters to Scaliger quoted above). They also know only the annual cycle, as observed by Jews and Karaites. The Samaritans have done exactly the same, though in not a few instances they differ considerably from the Jews in the starting-point of their Parasha. They sometimes begin in the middle of one of our Parashiyot, but they follow the same system and provide like the Jews also for a larger number of Parashiyot for the intercalary year, when four Sabbaths are added. They do it in the same manner as we do, by dividing three or four longer Parashiyot into six or eight shorter ones, or vice versa, combining two or three into one, agreeing even in this detail in some instances with the practice of the Jews. They combine, e.g., Matot and Mas'ei together with Pinehas, and the Portion corresponding to Nissabim, Vayelekh, as we do. A close examination furthermore shows that they never started from the middle of a Kissa. Like the Jews, they start invariably from the beginning of those smaller Sections marked by us as Pet or Set, as the case may be, and clearly distinguished by them as a Pet by a blank line between. Dr. Cowley has reprinted the list of Parashiyot as found by him in one of the Petermann MSS. in Berlin. But unfortunately he has not noticed that the list for Genesis which he published, is the extended list for the Leap Year, and thus creates some confusion in the understanding of the division (*J.Q.R.*, Vol. VII., 1894, p. 137 ff). He starts Exodus with number 14, while he leaves off Genesis with 18. The same list is also found in my Cod. 1135.

It would, however, be of still greater interest to print the whole calendar for one year like my Cod. 1150, with all the indications week by week of the Portions read, wherein also other calendaristic details of the highest interest are given. That the Samaritan division has not been done haphazard, but rests on very ancient tradition, is evident from the fact that on one or two occasions they start the " Barasha " with the very Portions which we have selected for our Festivals and Holy Days. I will refer to them anon, when examining the Sifra and Pesikta.

Before I proceed to describe the way in which the Portions are read, it is necessary to draw attention to the further parallelism between Jews and Samaritans, showing the extreme antiquity of the practice followed by both. Both begin the reading of the Law immediately after the Feast of Tabernacles. It must be remembered that the King read the Law at the Jubilee, also at the end of Tabernacles, and this, no doubt, remained a starting-point for the annual reading for the future. What is still more significant in the highest degree is the arrangement in which both Jews and Samaritans agree that the curses in Leviticus are read before the Feast of Weeks, and those in Deuteronomy before the New Year. A Leap Year makes no difference with this arrangement, for the Samaritans expand the fourteen Portions into which they divide Genesis into eighteen, in order to provide for those four intercalary Sabbaths. They begin the reading of the second book of the Law invariably on the first Sabbath of the eleventh month (Nisan is the first), and Leviticus with the first Sabbath of Nisan. From this rule they do not deviate. Remembering then that this arrangement of the reading of the curses and blessings is traced back by tradition to Ezra, we have here an unexpected corroboration by the reading of the Samaritans. No less curious is, that on the last Sabbath of the eleventh month (or the first of the twelfth) an additional Portion is read, namely, Exodus xxx. 12, the well-known additional Section to our Parasha Shekalim read by us precisely at the same time. These are not haphazard coincidences, running as they do parallel in the minute details of liturgical arrangement. Both point thus to a far greater antiquity than has hitherto been believed, for it cannot be stated often enough that the Samaritans have borrowed just as little directly from Rabbinical Judaism as the Jews have borrowed from the Samaritans.

We shall now consider the way in which the weekly lesson is read by the Jews, Samaritans, etc. How was this weekly Portion read ? Did the people take any part in the reading, and if so, in what manner ? It is impossible to assume, as some have done, that originally the people read only one verse, and that three verses formed the whole of the weekly Portion. The very size of the ancient Parasha, which very seldom is less than three verses and often consists of a larger number of verses, precludes even the hypothetical assumption of the possibility of such a short reading. It would be almost ludicrous to imagine that men should be called to read before the public one single verse, considering that they were reading so many Parashiyot in their prayers like those mentioned above, whilst the whole of the reading of the Law should consist of one verse. That three men should be called up on a solemn day to exhibit the greatness and beauty of the Law by the reading of one single verse each seems too preposterous to be believed. There is not a shred of evidence for such a system. The Mishna cited above makes it perfectly clear that in the week-day semi-private reading of the Maamadot, each of the persons was expected to read at least three verses. Note that this was for a week-day lesson. Why the minimum of three verses should have been established is not mentioned anywhere. But the reason is not far to seek. The priestly blessing consists of three verses, and this no doubt was taken as a model for the reading. The analogy of the Samaritans does not sufficiently assist us in the history of the reading of the Law, at any rate in one direction; although their practice is very suggestive in other directions. They do not read from the Scroll as far as I have been able to ascertain. They have the Scrolls, it is true, and they have used them in ancient times. In the later centuries, however, they only take them out from the Ark, show them to the people at the conclusion of the prayer, and then settle down to read from their MS. books. The cause may be that not being able to obtain pure parchment from goat skins sacrificed ritually and properly prepared owing to the loss of the ashes of the Red Heifer, and being in a state of Levitical impurity, they had no more "pure" parchment from the fifteenth century on, as they assured me, and are therefore, no doubt, afraid to wear out the few parchment Scrolls by too constant use. They therefore use their books, which are mostly written on paper. They have a double system: one at the conclusion of the morning service and one at the conclusion of the midday service. In both the whole congregation takes part. The reading in the morning is not, however, carried on in the "Kinsha" (their Synagogue), but in the "Bet-kahana" (the house where the priests are dwelling), and there the reading partakes of a character reminding one as emphatically as possible of the injunction mentioned in the Talmud, that every man should read the Bible, each verse twice in Hebrew and once in the Targum. This system of reading the text twice and the Targum once, I have seen done by the Yemenite Jews in Jerusalem on Shabuoth afternoon, when squatting on the floor in their Synagogue they read the Book of Ruth in such manner. The Samaritans similarly read alternately;

the reader—always one of the priests—reads and the congregation joins in either by repeating the verse or reading the verses alternately during the morning service. They have now forgotten the Targum, which they used to read alternately with the Hebrew text, in the same manner, I understand, down to about 150 years ago, when the practice ceased, because the people had lost the knowledge of the ancient Samaritan tongue in which the Targum is composed, and therefore it had lost its meaning. They read the whole Parasha, verse by verse, in the morning. At the midday service we find they read the whole Parasha again, but then the priest starts and reads the first three or four verses of each Kissa corresponding to our small Section, and the people afterwards read the other half until they finish the whole of the weekly lesson. Calling up therefore does not exist. With us the former practice of reading the text with the Targum alternately, now also given up, had been the general rule, and has had an influence upon the study of the Law to a far greater extent than has hitherto been surmised. "It is incumbent upon every individual to read the whole of the weekly portion to himself, twice in the Hebrew text and once in the Targum" (Berachot, 8a). This will be considered in connection with the private form of study. But we are still discussing the public reading, where the Meturgeman had his place, and where, no doubt, the reading was carried out exactly in the same manner as the Samaritans did and do. Faint indications of this are preserved by the way in which the Song of Moses was read alternately by precentor and people, and by the practice of the congregation chiming in at the end of the sections in the Sabbath Portion. This is merely a remnant of the older practice in which the congregation, no doubt, repeated the Hebrew text, verse by verse, and listened to the Meturgeman who explained it to them in the vernacular.

As regards the minor subdivision or the calling up of people to the reading of the Law, we find that the Levites in the Temple already are stated to have read the Portion in precisely the same manner, dividing the weekly Portion into seven smaller Sections as we do. A Synagogue from which the Scroll of the Law is taken is mentioned in the Mishna referred to before. It is from that Synagogue that the Hazan took the Scroll and gave it to the High Priest, and he to the King. So there must have been a Synagogue within the precincts of the Temple itself. This division into seven is not an artificial one as it might appear from a casual study of the passage in the Talmud, where a gradual development seems to be indicated by the enumeration of the various occasions in which the number of people to be called up—that is who are to take their share in the public reading—is successively increased from three on week-days to four on New Moon, etc., until seven on Sabbath. The seven portions, no doubt, correspond with the seven days of the week, and are unquestionably a very old practice. But this is a minor point which I cannot pursue any further here.

What part the Kohen, as such, may have taken in the public reading of the Law is one of the problems which await solution. It is intimately connected with the question raised by me, as to the form of the Jewish worship outside the Temple. In close relation to it stands, of course, the position held by the Kohen in the community.

The fact that the Samaritans still give to the Kohen a pre-eminent position in all religious questions cannot be overlooked. Of no less importance is the Christian practice which gives to the priest functions absolutely identical with those claimed by the Jewish Kohen. He alone was and is allowed to deal with the Sacraments and holy offices. In the Church he is primarily the only person who leads and reads the prayer. He was presumably also the leader and reader in the Synagogue, and hence his claim to be the first to take part in the reading of the Law, just as the Samaritan priests do to this very day, in their service. If, as suggested above, the reading of three verses is an imitation of the threefold blessing of the priest, it is obvious that the Kohen should be expected to read also, in the first instance, the portion of the Law and afterwards to retain at least the first position in the reading. To return now to the system of reading, the practice of the Church shows that it knows only an annual cycle. The Church extended it over the Old and New Testaments, originally reading only the Old, until the New was considered to be of equal sanctity, that is, when the Heathen-Christian element prevailed over the Jewish-Christian. Then they slowly eliminated the reading of the Old, and substituted for it almost exclusively the reading of the New Testament, retaining, however, the system of an Annual Cycle. The general principle of the lessons of the Church is exactly the same as that of the Jewish lesson. On festive occasions special portions fitted for the occasion are read from the Old Testament and New Testament bearing on the importance of the day; and throughout the special season of the year selections are made from the Bible for the same purpose of public reading. The comparison which I established before when dealing with the sectional division between the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Greek Bibles will help us to understand the practice of the Church. It follows here absolutely and entirely the example of the Synagogue and the Kinsha. The lessons from the Old Testament for the Christian Lectionaries, notably in the Triodion for the Quadragesima, are sections taken from the LXX., determined by the original division of the Greek text; they also begin with the first verse of a section and finish with the last verse. They never begin the lesson in the middle, just as the Jews never start any lesson from the middle of a small Parasha, or the Samaritans in the middle of a Kissa. For the

Church the Books of the Bible stand on a different plane, and preference is given or no doubt was given to those chapters of the Prophets which lent themselves to a Christological interpretation. When the new dispensation dispensed practically with "the Law," it was obvious that no such prominence would be given to portions from the Law as is done by Jews and Samaritans.

It is curious how little is known of the beginnings of the ancient Christian liturgy. The recent researches of Glaue, *Die Vorlesung heiliger Schriften im Gottesdienste*, and the book of Harnack, *Uber den Privaten Gebrauch der Heiligen Schriften in d. Alten Kirche* (Leipzig, 1912), throw very little light on the reading of lessons from the Old Testament in the first two centuries of the Christian Church. But the investigation which I have carried out leaves no doubt as to the system and the practice followed in the primitive Church. The result from the lesson of the Church falls into line with the result obtained from the readings in the Synagogue and Kinsha. They all point in the same direction and prove mutually their antiquity. Direct dependence of one upon the other is utterly impossible, for though they agree in the main principle, they differ sufficiently in detail to obviate the possibility of any direct borrowing.

Another point is the size of the lesson of the Church. On an average it is about twenty-five to thirty verses; herein again, no doubt, the Church follows the old example of the Jews where the smaller daily lesson certainly contained more than eight or nine verses. No question thus of a possible reading consisting of one or three verses alone even for a week-day, and still less for a Sabbath, Festival or other Holy Day. These lessons must have been of the size of the actual Parasha. As the matter is of still wider importance, I will mention here the lesson from the Old Testament read during the Lenten weeks (from Ash Wednesday to Easter) according to the Byzantine and the Syriac rites, limiting myself to the lessons of the first ten chapters of Genesis; the former from the Triodion, the latter according to the list given in Maclean's *East Syrian Daily Offices*, page 284. In the Greek the lessons read are as follows:—

I. Mon., Gen. I. 1–13. Tues., 14–23. Wed., 24–Gen. II. 3. Thurs., II. 4–19.

II. Mon., III. 21 ff. Tues., IV. 8 ff. Wed., IV. 16. Thurs., V. 1–24.

III. Mon., VI. 9–22. Tues., VII. 5. Wed., VII. 6–9. Thurs., VII. 11–VIII. 3. Fri., VIII. 4–21*a*.

IV. Mon., VIII. 21*b*—IX. 7. Tues., IX. 8. Wed., IX. 18. Thurs., X. 1–9.

In the Syriac the reading from the first ten chapters of Genesis is:—

I. Mon., Gen. I. 1–20. Tues., I. 20–II, 8. Wed., II. 8 to end. Thurs., III. 1–20. Fri., III. 20 to end.

II. Sun., V. 18–32. Fri., V. 32 to end of VI.

III. Sun., VII. Fri., IX. 8 to end.

Of these two the Greek seems to be the older, and the other—the Syriac—a somewhat later division; yet both follow the same principle of providing daily lessons from the Old Testament. They take as basis for their division what will be certainly a great surprise to students of the history of the Christian liturgy, a division of the text which coincides down to the minutest detail with the Samaritan division of the Hebrew text. It is noteworthy, for instance, that Genesis VIII. 21 should be broken up in the Greek lesson into two verses, and that one lesson should finish with 21*a* and the other begin with 21*b*, a division which coincides absolutely with the Samaritan division, and is not found even in the Septuagint.

It is not necessary to pursue this comparison much further. It is quite sufficient to prove (*a*) that the continuous reading of the text was the practice of the Church, (*b*) that the reading was extended over a good number of verses, although no one was called up, and the whole of the reading was left entirely to the priest, (*c*) that the ancient subdivision of the text into small Parashiyot was taken as the basis for the arrangement of the lessons, none venturing to break up these sections. If we then turn to the Palestine Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels, dating probably from the fourth or fifth century, the same tradition meets us for dividing the whole of the Gospels into large sections for the purpose of reading them as lessons during divine service, and finishing the reading in the course of one year. The tradition of the Church is thus uniform with that of the Kinsha and the Synagogue; for the Christians certainly would not have invented an annual cycle or arranged the reading of the sacred Scriptures unless they followed a universally accepted tradition considered ancient, well established and holy. Nowhere is there to be found a trace of any other division of the Bible, and nowhere is there an attempt of establishing a cycle of lessons extending beyond one year.

The Karaites may be mentioned here, although they are of a very late origin; but in view of their dislike to everything that appeared to them to be of Rabbinical origin, and their claim to be the representatives of the older, undiluted Biblical tradition, if they had found anywhere a practice which they thought to be of a recent origin, or an arrangement based merely upon Rabbinical interpretation, they would certainly have altered it, just to show their opposition and their independence. The yearly cycle as given by Bashyatchi in his *Aderet Eliyahu* (Odessa, f. 105*a*), is precisely the same as that of the Jews, nor does the author of this Karaite Code of Laws in any degree remotely point or allude to any other form of reading but the annual cycle. He says, moreover, it is based by them on the statement in the Book of Ezra (Neh. VIII. 18), " also day by day, from the first day unto the last day, he read in the Book of the law of God," that is, as they explain it, from the day after Succoth to the same day a year hence. The *daily* lessons in the churches and the practice of the Anglican Church seem to rest also on this statement. The Karaites call their weekly lessons "Parasha," and they have no other name for them. They read the Parasha almost in the same manner as we do. In the Prayer Book it is mentioned that "on the Sabbath in which no Scroll is taken out the people read from the Humash, viz. the book; according to custom the Haham reads the first verse, the people continue and the Haham concludes." This reminds one very forcibly of the system prevailing among the Samaritans. But when they read out of the Scroll, they also divide the Portions into seven on the Sabbath, and the Kohen is the first to be called up to the reading.

The list of Haftarot given on f. 105*b* is not entirely different, as some have asserted, from that of the Jews. From Numbers to the end of Deuteronomy, with one or two exceptions, the Haftarot are precisely the same as those read by the Jews, and a notable fact is that the special Haftarot for the "three weeks of trouble" and the "seven weeks of comfort" are almost the same as the Jewish. Of the three between 17th of Tammuz and 9th of Ab two are identical. The difference, therefore, between Jews and Karaites amounts to very little; and is not much greater than that existing between the Sephardic, Ashkenazic, Yemenite, Italian, Persian, not to speak of other Rites. We find thus the same tradition even in the question of Haftarot, that only an annual cycle is known and practised. We see by their choice of chapters from the Prophets to be used as Haftarot that they believed the chapters read by the Jews as Haftarot rested on Rabbinical authority only; and therefore, whilst accepting the principle of the reading of the Haftarah, they often selected deliberately other chapters in lieu of those read by the Jews. Up to a certain date there was some latitude in the choice of the Haftarah, as the divergence between the various Jewish Rites shows.

But the Karaites never ventured to alter the reading of the Law; they followed exactly the same principle and the same tradition as the Jews; for it was to them an equally ancient and sacred tradition, although they claim for themselves an independent calculation of the calendar and different counting of the seven weeks which separate Pesach from Shebuoth. The latter falls with them always on a Sunday as with the Samaritans and the ancient Sadducees. But despite this difference, the division of the Bible is mainly the same, and they know only an annual cycle.

At a very late period, so late that its beginnings are rather difficult to determine, a new word, Seder—or rather the plural, Sedarim—turns up, notably in Massoretic treatises, with a specific meaning. It is there employed to mark divisions of the Bible. I will not as yet discuss the interpretation placed upon this new division. For the time being we are considering this division of the Bible from a purely palæographical and archæological point of view. It has already been shown that the scroll of the Bible in accordance with the tradition preserved by the Jews, Samaritans, and Christians alike was written in a uniform manner and with definite divisions marked off, and that such divisions have never changed. On the contrary, they formed a rigid framework for any ulterior arrangement of the text of the Bible. So rigid was this division, that the Law would never allow the slightest deviation, and any change sufficed to make the Scroll unfit for religious service. The column was eliminated or so corrected as to re-establish the proper form of writing. It has been shown that the Parashiyot could not be divided; and it was later on laid down as a rule that no man called up to the Law could break off the reading unless he either read to the end of that section (Parasha) or at least left three verses before the end to enable another person to be called up.

The great antiquity of this division is shown by the mode of writing the scrolls. A blank line originally divided one section from the other, and a larger space divided one of the five books from another. The weekly portion falls in entirely with this arrangement, and no weekly lesson is known to begin in the middle of a section. Now this tradition is limited to the Pentateuch. No indications are found in the Mishna or Talmud of any such divisions of the other Books of the Bible, Prophets, Holy Writings, except for one or two rare instances where the words Parasha or Perek are used, to which reference will be made later on ; there is no question of Parashiyot as a regular institution or division. No rules are laid down for writing and dividing these Books of the Bible in a special, clearly prescribed manner, nor is there any direction as to what would make such a book fit or unfit for service when used for the reading of the Haftarah. The same holds for the five scrolls, not excepting the Book of Esther. When the Talmud discusses at length, in the treatise Megillah, how the latter is to be written and read, no reference is made to any internal division or Parasha ; in fact, there existed none which has been authoritatively or universally recognised and followed as such, and there is nowhere greater independence than in the copies of these parts of the Bible.*

Even in the MSS. containing only the Haftarot, and therefore destined to be used in the Synagogue for religious service and to be read immediately after the Law, great obscurity prevails. There is no fixed tradition as to how these portions from the Prophets should be written and how they should be subdivided. No Haftarah nor any other portion of the Bible outside the Pentateuch has ever been called Parasha. If, however, the Sedarim represent and, as has been assumed, stand in direct connection with the public reading of the Law in the Synagogue, it is more than surprising that no graphic trace of such a division should be found in any MSS. of whatever age and place. In those few MSS. in which the Sedarim are marked, this is not done, let it be noted, in the Scroll but in the book form; the letter ס (Seder) is written at the margin to show where the Seder begins, just like any other Massoretic marginal note of late date and of no legal value. There is no division inside the text; there is no blank space left, there is no internal sign, nothing to show that there is a break. Persons unacquainted with the Massoretic Sigla might be induced to believe that it is the sign for Setuma, which by a mistake had got into the margin. Even that ס is not found in any of the Biblical MSS. before the twelfth century and rarely even later. But what goes further to prove the recent and non-liturgical origin of this division is that it has been extended to the whole of the Bible. No one can maintain that the Prophets and Holy Writings have ever been read publicly in connection with the liturgy and in any consecutive order. That the whole of the Bible should have been so divided is evidence that it has not been done in obedience to any regulation or principle according to which they were to be used as lessons. There are many books of the Holy Writings which have never been used as such in their entirety, or in any large portions, for any divine service; such as Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, Chronicles, Proverbs, or even Job. The reading of these books is mentioned in Mishna Yoma among those which the sages read to the High Priest privately. They were singled out for the reading to the High Priest, no doubt, for that very reason that they were otherwise never used in public worship. Of the Prophets themselves, it is well known, only selected chapters are read as Haftarot. It would be a remarkable claim, after the whole of the Bible had been divided into some 452 divisions for no liturgical purpose, to say that the same division limited to the Pentateuch rests upon a definite liturgical use to which the Pentateuch has been put. Either the division embraces the whole and rests on a principle affecting the whole of the Bible, or it does not. It cannot be claimed to be applied in one way for one section (the Law), and to owe its origin separately for that portion, whilst no explanation can be given for the extension of that principle to the rest of the Bible. If the Pentateuch had been divided into 150 weekly lessons for liturgical purposes, the division of the rest of the books of the Bible could not have been made for the same reason, as it cannot be applied to the Prophets and Holy Writings. It is therefore clear that Sedarim have nothing to do with Synagogue lessons or Perikopes.

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* It is a pity that Prof. Kittle should have taken it wantonly upon himself to introduce irrelevant and misleading divisions in his edition of the Bible. He has no authority for it, and still less to decide which is to be a Petuha and which a Setuma (an open or a closed section).

It cannot be denied that the other books of the Bible must also have been divided into smaller sections; but there is no fixed tradition for such division nor any decisive authoritative rule as to the character of the section, whether it be open or closed. It can be shown, however, that the example of the Pentateuch served as the model in general outline for the divisions of the other portions of the Bible. The oldest division is that of the Psalter, which has been broken up into five books, like the Pentateuch. The Psalter was the hymn-book in the Temple, as proved by the ancient testimony of the Levites singing Psalms in the time of Ezra and later (Rosh. Hash. 31*a*), an example followed by the Synagogue and the Church. Curiously enough, the Samaritans call their hymns "tehilot" (or, tehilelot), probably the older name for our Book of Psalms—(so Ben Asher)—"tehilim" being the later form and used to differentiate between the Biblical book and other liturgical hymns. To this day the Synagogue makes large use of the Psalter. This division of the Psalter into five books belongs to a very ancient period, long before the Massora. Proof thereof is the doxology at the end of each of the last four books; and in our daily morning service, after the doxology with which the Halleluyahs conclude, we also recite the doxologies of the preceding four books together, as if we had read the whole of the Psalter during that service.* The Psalter was subsequently divided into thirty sections, a certain number of Psalms being set aside for each day of the month; a division with which we shall deal later. The five Megilot, or scrolls, no doubt owe their origin and arrangement to the same desire of following the example of the Law's division into five books. The five scrolls were used also in the liturgy. But besides this division of these books (Psalter and five Megilot) we must presume that all the books of the Bible were divided into smaller or larger sections, following the basis laid down for the division of the Pentateuch into Parashiyot, either when starting a new subject, or a new prophecy, or a new date.

It would be of real importance if the Sedarim could be shown to represent an ancient division. But the divisions found in ancient MSS. of the Bible are of a totally different character, agreeing in the main with the small sections or Parashiyot of the Pentateuch. The Septuagint is also subdivided into smaller portions, though those found in the Greek text do not tally with those found in some of the Hebrew manuscript Bibles. If we now continue our examination of the Sedarim we shall find that the tradition about the numbers is anything but reliable. According to one account there are 154, according to another 158, and according to a third 167 divisions. None of them can be explained on any possible calculation. Moreover, if we are to follow Ginsburg (*Introduction to the Bible*, pp. 33–4), there is a fourth tradition contained in a MS. with the Massora

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* Of course each Psalm forms a small section for itself like the Parasha of the Law, and we find indeed some Psalms are quoted as Parasha or Perek in the Talmud, Ber. II, 1–2; Berach 9*b* and 13*b*; Gittin 60*a*; Rosh. Hash. 30*b*. (A small portion in Isaiah is also called Parasha: Meg. 24*a*).

Parva which disagrees with the others. On examining these Sedarim a little more closely, we shall be struck by the incongruity of the size. Assuming for argument's sake that these Sedarim served some liturgical purpose and constituted the weekly lesson in the Synagogue, we find that some of them consist of seven, eight, or fifteen verses, whilst others run into chapters. Surely it is impossible to imagine that those who were responsible for such a division should not have tried to standardise these weekly lessons, and make them more or less of equal size. Are we to assume that those who used the Sedarim for their weekly lesson had gone entirely against the rules laid down for Jewish public worship, that they should establish for themselves new rules and regulations which flew in the face of all the tradition of the past; that they should have ignored the practice of the Temple and the practice of the Synagogue as described in the Mishna and the Talmud, that they should have ignored the ancient division of Parashiyot and started their weekly portions from the middle of these sections as e.g. in Genesis XIX. 1; XXVII. 28, etc., that they should deviate from the number of persons to be called up, the number of verses to be read on such occasions, all this for centuries, and, forsooth, in Palestine, without leaving a single trace in the practice and terminology of the Synagogue? Not only is there no mention anywhere in the whole literature of any weekly division by the name of Seder, but also the readings from the Prophets must have been entirely different and independent in size and selection of those that have formed the readings of the Prophets as Haftarot from remote antiquity. For the Sedarim in the Prophets are, almost without exception, of a much larger size than the Haftarot; a Seder often being equal to two or three chapters. Isaiah has only twenty-six, Ezekiel twenty-nine, the Minor Prophets twenty-one, and the whole of the Book of Psalms nineteen. If these Sedarim hold good also for Haftarot, what a profound difference between the obligatory weekly lesson of the Torah consisting of perhaps seven or eight verses, and the Haftarah from the Prophet of fifty or sixty verses!

In addition to this deficiency from a palæographical point of view of distinctive signs by which these Sedarim are marked off in the Scroll, there is also a complete absence of any direction or rule for the marking of such division. If one remembers the strictness of the rules laid down for the open and closed sections, it is more than surprising that no care should have been taken, if this division into Sedarim were an old one, to lay down some rule or some legal guide for marking them in the Scroll. It is inconceivable that such a division could have obtained over a wider area and the whole of Palestine, and in ancient times covering the whole of the Talmudic period, without any legal formulation of the rules and principles underlying such division. How little they could be or have been connected with the history of the Scroll and the use to which it was put in the public service can be seen by the continued silence of all authorities, almost without exception. It is sufficient to quote Maimonides, especially as I shall have to refer to him in connection with the alleged three-year cycle. In his *Hilkhot Sefer Torah*, Sect. Ahabah, he devotes a long chapter (chapter VIII.) to a minute and detailed description of the open and closed sections of the Pentateuch. He enumerates each one and describes very carefully whether it should be open or closed, and he gives as his authority the famous model code of Ben Asher, originally kept in Jerusalem and then used by him in Egypt. But he never mentions even the word Seder, and does not seem to be aware of any other authoritative division of the Law but that into Parashiyot. No less interesting is the still more minute description of the Scroll by Meiri, who in 1305 wrote his *Kiryat Sefer*, containing a minute treatment of every letter, nay, of every jot and tittle, in the sacred Scroll. He calls every one of these smaller sections by the ancient name of Parasha, but he knows nothing of any other division of the Bible or of the supposed Sedarim. On the contrary, as far as I am aware, he is the first to call our usual weekly Portion, i.e. of the annual cycle, by the name of Seder.

I turn now from the palæographical to the philological investigation of the word Seder and its use in Rabbinical literature. It will be found that in the whole of that literature—Mishna, Talmud, Agadah—the word Seder has only one definite meaning, that of order, the succession of things, facts, deeds, performances, the complex of actions that follow one another in a definite series. It has never been connected with any division or section referring to the Bible.

There is not one single example which can be adduced, as far as I am aware, to show that it has ever been taken as equivalent to Parasha, either in the ancient meaning of the original smaller section, or in the later development which made that word identical with the weekly Portion (lesson, perikopes). It is necessary to settle this point as clearly as possible; for only thus many a misconception will disappear. I will take a few examples at random from the Mishna and Talmud, and it will be seen that the word Seder has never been used otherwise but as the designation of order, or sequence. What can we want more than the expression "Seder of the Parashiyot," used in Megillah III. 4 in connection with the discussion of the four special portions for the four Sabbaths? and it is furthermore stated (*ibid.*) that they (the Parashiyot) are read Kesidran, i.e. in their proper order. We have the word Seder Hayom (Mishna Yoma I. 3), meaning the whole "order" of service for the Day of Atonement; and (*ibid.* V. 7) everything is described in proper "order"—*al haseder*. We have Seder Berachot, "order" of the blessings and benedictions, in Bera. 48*b*; the "order" of the blessing after meals (*ibid.*). We have Seder

Vidui, "order" of confession (*ibid.* 31*a*), Seder Tefilah, the "order" of Prayer (Rosh. Hash. 17*b*). Special stress must be laid on the following citation. When the Talmud wishes to describe the "order" of the books of the Bible (Baba Bathra 14*b*), it speaks of them as the Sidran Shel Nebiim, and Sidran Shel Ketubim, the "order" of the Books of the Prophets and the "order" of the Books of the Holy Writings. The Talmud does not refer here to any internal division called "Seder," but only to the sequence of the books. No less interesting is the reference to the "order" of the creation, which is called Sidrê Bereshit (Sabb. 53*b*, Kethub. 103*b*); whilst when these chapters are mentioned as "lessons" in the liturgy they are called Parashiyot, as shown above. We have, furthermore, the Seder of the Maamadot in Taanit III. 7, meaning the "order" of the successive Maamadot, but not referring to the Parashiyot read at the Maamadot. We have Seder Hakeriah, "order" of the reading of the Law, but nothing that would indicate that thereby was meant which special portion of the Law was to be read. It is simply used to describe the "order" in which the people are to be called up—Kohen first, Levite second, and Yisrael third, when the Scroll is taken out for the portion of the day, Sabbath, New Moon, Hanukah, etc. In Yoma 33*a* we find Abbaye arranges the Seder Hamaarakhah, or the "order" of the daily service in the Temple.

Turning to our Prayer Book we find, e.g. in the Mussaf Amida, "*Temidin kesidran umussafim kehilkhatan,*" where seder and halakhah are used as synonyms; and in the Ashkenazic form we have also Siddurē Nesakhēha, "order" of its drink-offerings, the form Siddur reminding one of the title "Order of Prayers," i.e. Prayer Book. So far has this word been identified with sequence and proper arrangement of the consecutive order of prayers, that the Prayer Book has got the name Siddur instead of Seder Hatefilah. Compare with this the Syriac name for the Prayer Book, Takhsa, which means "order." It would be easy to multiply examples which would prove one and the same fact, that the word Seder was never used in any other meaning but that of "order," and never applied through the whole of the ancient Talmudic literature either to any portion of the Bible or to any portion of the Law.

On the contrary, this title is employed for non-Biblical Rabbinical literature exclusively, while Parasha served to denote exclusively divisions of the Bible and notably of the Law. It is into Sedarim and not into Parashiyot that the Mishna is divided, and no one has ever used another term to designate the division of the Mishna. Speaking, for instance, of the Seder Moed everyone would at once know that the "order" of the Oral laws referring to the festivals is meant, whilst, for instance, no Parasha has ever been cited by the title Seder. One does not find in the whole literature, Seder Bereschith, Seder Noah, or a Seder Yithro, or any other. The fact that the word Sedarim had been applied exclusively, at any rate during the whole of the Talmudic period, to the compilation of the Oral Law ought at once to put us on our guard when we see the same name applied to the written Law. Moreover, when applied to the Mishna, the word Seder is the general title for a whole series of laws and ordinances which are subdivided into Masekhtot and Perakim. All these are new forms used exclusively in connection with the Oral Law and Rabbinical tradition. The word Seder does not as yet represent a small division, equivalent with the Parasha of the Bible. A long time must elapse and profound changes must take place before such a transfer could be possible; and, as will be seen later, a change in the meaning attached to this word is due to a different school of thought and belongs to a period when with changed conditions a new significance was attached to older words.

Take now the word Perek, also seldom, if ever, used in connection with the Biblical books. It is applied part exclusively to Rabbinical literature and the same change in the use of the name has taken place many centuries later. Firstly, in the Mishna, the subdivision is called Perek (Perakim). Then we find Pirke Aboth, the "Chapters of the Fathers"; Pirke Hekhalot, "Chapters of the Heavenly Halls." We have Pirke de R. Eliezer, Perakim of R. Jehudah, and so on. They are never called "parasha"; and, on the other hand, none of the divisions of the Bible is ever known or quoted as Perek. Centuries elapsed; the Bible was divided by the Christians into chapters, and then the word Perek was used for this modern non-Jewish division of the Bible. It is found in the Massoretic closing notes of the various books of the printed Bible; but in the Massora we find layers in the terms used, some of extreme antiquity, and others of so recent an origin as these Perakim of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. A term found in Massoretic writings need not be considered as old unless it is proved by other evidence to be of ancient origin. The conclusion from the philological point of view is also obvious. Even if the Bible or Pentateuch would ever have been divided for liturgical purposes into smaller sections, if any proof would have been forthcoming that there was any practice but an annual cycle for the reading, and that there had been in general use another division for a cycle of three years or three and a half years, surely these divisions would have been marked by certain definite names clinging to them as has been shown to be the invariable rule with the weekly portion. No writer, with one single exception, to be noted later, down to comparatively modern times, has identified this division with any liturgical purpose, and has explained the Sedarim to have been introduced for such an aim. But a certain connection has been alleged to exist between the Sedarim and certain Midrashim. It is, therefore, of importance to establish in the first place the relation between the older Agadic compilations with these Sedarim, in order to see whether such old works as the Mekhilta, Sifra, Pesikta, etc., had any knowledge or took any cognisance of these Sedarim. Those who have tried to identify the Sedarim with the triennial cycle have never asked themselves in what relation these stand, and have rather hastily drawn conclusions from premises which never warranted such conclusions, even if we should agree that some of the later Midrashim start from verses which mark the beginning of the so-called Sedarim. Nothing even then would show that these Sedarim served the liturgical purpose of an annual, or still less a triennial, cycle, but would only show that the Bible or the Pentateuch had been subdivided in an additional manner. It will then be for us to find out the reason, if we can, for such subdivision.

If we now examine the Sifra, the oldest of the halachic Midrashim, perhaps contemporary with the Mishna or perhaps a little older, and in its structural arrangement no doubt going back to the tradition of R. Akiba, we shall reach a more definite result. The agreement between the Midrash and the smaller—not the weekly—Parashiyot is so close as to leave no doubt that no other division was recognised or known by the author. The Sifra is divided into eighty sections, and Hoffman, in his introduction to the Midrashim, shows that certain portions had been deliberately left out of the Sifra. The number of these omitted Parashiyot amounted to fourteen or sixteen. These added to the eighty would bring up the sum to ninety-six, the exact number of Parashiyot, Petuhot, and Setumot, into which Leviticus is divided. No room there for any Seder, and no trace of any Seder. It is worth while dwelling here, however briefly, on the terminology used in the Sifra to designate divisions. It will show that in addition to Parasha, also Perek is the most constant term used; the latter alternating as it were with the former. In addition to these, other terms are sporadically used, showing that the terminology was still somewhat fluid, not yet rigidly fixed except in the case of the Parasha. The other terms found in the Sifra are Megillah, as Megillat Meṣora (col. 134 ed., Venice), Megillat Emor (col. 184), and sometimes Dibbura, an archaic form for parasha (*vide* above, col. 85 and 211); once we find the word Sidra (col. 222) at the end of Behar. All these terms seemed to be used more or less promiscuously, and parasha itself sometimes designated a section, sometimes a lesson or perikope, and sometimes merely indicated the contents, such as Parasha Nega'im, Parasha Zabim, similar to Parashat Hamelekh in the Mishna.

An analysis of the Mekhilta may follow. As far as it has been preserved—and very likely it began with the present first chapter—it is divided into nine Masekhtot, and subdivided into smaller Parashiyot. No other term is apparently used. For the larger division the term Masekhet is used, which, as shown above, is applied to the sections of the Mishna, and which is never applied to any Biblical book. Masekhet means "textus;" hence our word text, a web, a thing woven together by the hand of the author. It will be evident that whilst the author of the Mekhilta keeps rigorously to the ancient division of Parashiyot and knows also the Perikope, he had no knowledge of any division of the Bible corresponding with Sedarim. If on one or two occasions the chapter of the Mekhilta begins with the passage where the Seder is now marked, it is a mere coincidence; for on those two occasions the weekly Perikopes begin in the same place (v*b*. and VII.). On the other hand, in three passages the author's division seems to run parallel with that found in the Samaritan Bible, starting from what is now a Samaritan Perikope (Nos. I., VI., VII.). On one occasion the Masekhet comes to an end with the Samaritan Perikope, as in IX*a*. In conformity with the halachic character of this Midrash, those chapters of Exodus which contain no Halacha are omitted in the Mekhilta, such as chapters XXIII. 20 to

xxxi. 11; xxxi. 18 to the end of xxxiv., xxxv. 4 to the end of the book, and very likely also chapters i. to xii., these being relegated to the Agadic Midrash. Moreover, it must be pointed out that some of the Masekhtot cover only small sections, such as those to Exodus xvii. 8–16, xxxi. 12–17, and xxv. 1–3. Of these the former contains the episode of Amalek connected especially with Purim, and the last two deal with injunctions concerning the strict observance of the Sabbath. But throughout there is no reference to the Sedarim, and not even a remote agreement with any division into Sedarim. It is obvious that at the time of the composition of the Mekhilta such division did not exist. Passing on from the Mekhilta to the Sifrē, we find here the weekly lessons are clearly marked, but these may be due perhaps to a late hand. On the other hand, it has the minute subdivisions of the text corresponding to a large extent with the division of the Bible into verses; each of these little divisions is called Piska, that is, a small school lesson, an agadic, or halachic interpretation—as the case may be—of one or a few verses together. Of no less consequence will be now an analysis of the Pesikta—the oldest collection of a purely agadic interpretation of the text both of the Law and of the Prophets, as far as they were read as lessons in the service. An examination of the Pesikta will serve also the purpose of bringing out the fact that to the author only one set of Haftarot and Parashiyot was known, and they were all enclosed within an Annual Cycle. He knew no two Parashiyot for any festival, or, for any one special day, two different Haftarot.

Another cycle (biennial or triennial) would obviously have produced a larger number of Haftarot, and each of these would have formed the subject for a separate homiletical interpretation. But the Pesikta knows only the one universally acknowledged set of lessons and Haftarot. But I will consider the Pesikta here solely from the point of view of its relation to the Sedarim—tracing whether there is any connection between them, and whether the Sedarim lay at the basis, or were the starting-point of the homilies—more especially because the Pesikta is of a purely Palestinian origin, and it is alleged that a triennial cycle was the rule in Palestine, and that the Sedarim were the divisions of the Bible in accordance with that cycle. The number of homilies contained in the Pesikta—which, needless to add, is also the oldest collection and goes back at least to the fourth or fifth century—is thirty-two. Of these, thirteen (XIII.–XXII. and XXIV.–XXVI.) take their text from the Prophets, being Haftarot; and two (XXIX. and XXXI.) have no text and will therefore be omitted. Of the remaining seventeen not one starts from the same verse as a Seder, unless it is at the same time the beginning of a Perikope. On all other occasions the starting-point is the old Parasha or section, and on some occasions, the weekly Parasha; and what is of special significance, we find also a remarkable parallel between the Pesikta and the division into Perikope of the Samaritans. In one instance the Pesikta agrees also with the Mekhilta (No. V.), but in the other two instances (Mekhilta VI., XII.) the Pesikta is entirely independent and stands by itself in this agreement. For each of these Pesiktot we have Talmudic authority, some being already mentioned in the Mishna, others in the Talmud, the Babylonian as well as the Palestinian showing that the reading of these lessons as a fixed tradition goes back to very ancient times, and was never questioned either in Palestine or Babylon. From the foregoing examination no doubt can be left that down to the fifth century at least the Sedarim did not exist. Such a division of the Bible in addition to, and superseding, as it were, that into Parashiyot both as section and Perikope was not known. It had no connection whatsoever with liturgy. It was not allowed to be marked by any sign in the writing of the text, nor did it influence the ancient exegesis of the Law. Moreover, the legal authorities took no notice of it in laying down the rules for the writing or for the reading of the text. Still the existence of a division not only of the Pentateuch but also of the whole of the Bible into Sedarim cannot be gainsaid. It will be my endeavour to trace the late origin of these Sedarim, and to show the place which they occupy in the history of the text of the Bible and in that of its interpretation. It is for this reason that the examination of Agadic Midrashim in their relation to the Sedarim will be undertaken later.

M. GASTER.

(To be concluded)

Hebrew Culture

If one were to attempt a scientific definition of culture, it might be said to be that mental training which makes one most amenable to the influence of reason and truth. The advantage of this definition would be that it clearly distinguishes culture from education in general. In speaking of Hebrew culture, however, this distinction, though it should be borne in mind, need not be pressed. We may, for the requirements of this subject, content ourselves with another definition, which is really a corollary of the first, viz. that culture is a faculty of abstract thought and literary expression derived from the study of good literature. The advantage of this definition is that it enables us to apportion culture to various languages, and to speak of English, French, German culture, etc., according to the literature on which it is based.

Every nation which has produced a standard literature should have a culture of its own. The sign of such a culture is the constant production of fresh literature which, though in itself perhaps of little more than ephemeral value, is true to the spirit of the standard literature, and brings to the reader's notice the broader issues underlying the affairs of his everyday life. The more cultured a people is, the more abundant is the supply of such literature, and the more numerous and widely diffused are its readers. The writers of this kind of literature must themselves be cultured men—men who have studied to good purpose the masterpieces of their own, if not also of other, languages.

There is an idea current that this kind of culture is something specifically " European," that it is the peculiar possession of those Aryan races whose home is in Europe, and who have spread from there to other parts of the world. This, however, is not the case, as the Jews also may claim at the present day to have such a culture. There is, and has been for some decades, a Hebrew culture of the kind indicated above, comparatively small in quantity, but in quality probably on a level with the best of other peoples. Hebrew, commonly regarded as a dead language, is being used for the production of literary work precisely similar, *mutatis mutandis,* to that which forms the current reading of the cultured people of Western Europe. The Jews, *qua* Jews, can also claim to be a cultured people, having an individual culture based on their own standard literature. But they have attained this position with difficulty, and maintain it with a struggle. The Hebrew culturists are but a fragment of the Jewish people, and are far from possessing the confidence of the mass of their brethren, although the benefit of their work accrues to the people as a whole. If the nature of their work were better understood they might, perhaps, obtain more sympathy and support; and it may be of interest, therefore, to explain the position which they hold in the Jewish body politic, and to sum up the results of their labours up to the present time.

I

Before the advent of the "Higher Criticism" it was customary to hold one of two extreme views with regard to the Old Testament. Either it was a sacred book or it was nothing—a manual of priestly superstition. The "Higher Criticism"—more by its methods than its results—has brought into currency a third view—that the Old Testament is literature; in fact, a complete literature. This view is not in itself *a priori* incompatible with either of the two others. It leaves unaffected the value of the Bible for religious and liturgical purposes; and has the advantage of giving to it a cultural value which otherwise it would not possess.

No one whose literary sense has been trained on European masterpieces can fail to see that the Bible contains some very fine literature. It is marked throughout by a certain elevation of style, which allows the reader to derive both pleasure and profit from what otherwise would be but barren tracts. This all-pervading style gives to it homogeneity, and allows us to regard the whole of it as, for cultural purposes, one work. And many judges would regard it as the greatest single work in any literature into which it has been translated.

But, because of this very greatness, a question arises about the Bible such as occurs with no other translation, viz. Has the Bible, so to speak, accomplished its mission by being translated and forming part of some foreign literature, or does it not, in its original language, form a literature for itself, which is capable of being made the basis of an individual culture? The question for Jews is a very old one and has been of critical importance in their history on more than one occasion. The Jews are perhaps the only people who have at various times conceived and carried out the idea of translating their own literature into a foreign language, with the object of adopting that language as their own. Three translations of the Bible bear witness to this endeavour on their part—the Septuagint translation into Greek, Saadiah's into Arabic, and Moses Mendelssohn's into German. All three attempts prove that the authors did not attach much value to Hebrew culture; otherwise, instead of translating the Bible into foreign languages, they would have translated the masterpieces of those languages into Hebrew. In fact, they did not regard Hebrew as a cultural language; and it is fitting at this point to inquire whether they were right or not.

By a cultural language we mean one which a man of culture could conceivably use for purposes of literary expression or abstract thought. The men who create the literature of any language in the first instance are not necessarily cultured, though in that case they must possess a faculty superior to culture—an innate culture, as it were, which is near akin to inspiration. Plato ascribed all good poetry to a faculty of this kind, which he called *enthusiasmus*. A literature, once created, does not make a language cultural in perpetuity. If the language should cease to be spoken, then its vocabulary and range of expression are confined within the limits of the written literature, as far as it is preserved. These resources may, in the course of time, prove too limited to allow of adequate literary expression in an age full of new ideas and experience. In fact, a truly cultural language is only one which is always capable of being brought " up to date "—of renewing its youth like the eagle, and adapting itself to the most changing conditions of life and society.

Whether Hebrew is or is not one of these languages is a question that has faced the Jews every time that they have been brought into contact with a full-grown culture of which, during the period of its development, they had no cognisance. This, as has been mentioned, has happened three times in Jewish history—in Palestine and Egypt after the death of Alexander, in Babylonia on the rise of the Khalifate, and in Germany in the eighteenth century. In each of these cases circumstances forced the Jews to open their eyes to the fact that a new world had grown up around them while they remained unchanged, and that other nations had adapted their literatures and cultures to this new world while they had been keeping to their old groove. In each case the question arose for them whether they could put themselves *au courant* of this new world, present to themselves an intelligible idea of it, through the medium of the Hebrew language. In each case the answer was first given in the negative, and afterwards in the affirmative. This fact is perhaps the most striking in Jewish history, and contains the secret of Jewish persistence.

We are told that the day on which the Seventy finished their translation was regarded as a day of tribulation and sadness in Jerusalem. It may well, indeed, have seemed that the doom of the Hebrew language was sealed by this action, and that the Jewish "intellectuals" of future generations would find in Greek their natural language of study and literary expression. If this was the presentiment of the men of Jerusalem, it was exceedingly well grounded, and its failure to be fulfilled is little short of a miracle. When the Temple was destroyed the Hebrew language had no home save the Beth-Hamidrash; yet here it took fresh root, and was made into a supple instrument of literary expression, capable of dealing with all the problems that then exercised the minds of men. The same phenomenon was repeated seven or eight centuries later. When brought into contact with the cultured Arabs, who surveyed the world from quite a new standpoint, the first impulse of the Jews was to abandon their own language for cultural purposes, and to express themselves in Arabic. But again second thoughts prevailed, and Hebrew took back into itself those very works which were intended to obviate the necessity for its usage. In our own day we see history repeating itself once more. Mendelssohn and his followers thought that they were amply safeguarding the rights of the Hebrew language by retaining it for liturgical purposes and making it a subject of academic research. But the genius of the Jewish people has insisted on a further concession, and the flower of Jewish intellect is engaged at the present day in making Hebrew once more a cultural language, and in using it, in the most varied literary forms, for the discussion of every problem which arises out of the conditions of modern life.

What is the secret of this thrice-repeated recovery of Hebrew from an apparently fatal blow, and its revival from its ashes to a life of new vigour and activity? We may in each case find the cause in a reassertion of the national consciousness, proceeding from that section of the people which sees that without a Hebrew culture the Jewish people cannot survive. For if the Jews are to remain a people they must, in a civilised world, be able to give some reason for their separate existence. Now experience soon proves—what might be surmised *a priori*—that this cannot be done by those who do not regard Hebrew as a cultural language. Whether those who do so regard it will be any more successful cannot be foreseen *a priori;* but at any rate, this is the natural line for attacking the problem. And we see from history that in fact the men who have made Hebrew into a cultural language have done most for the preservation of the Jewish people. That the Tannaim did this in Roman times goes without saying; and he would much misunderstand the Tannaim who did not recognise that they were Hebrew culturists before they were law-makers. In the Middle Ages to whom did Judaism owe its preservation if not to its Hebrew writers? And at the present day what hope has Judaism of surviving unless it can produce a Hebrew literature which will give a Jewish presentation of the modern world?

But, in fact, we hardly require the evidence of history to prove that there is an intimate connection between Hebrew culture and Jewish national sentiment, because the analogy from other peoples would lead us to the same conclusion. To read literature culturally means to read it in such a way as to see in it some relation to the national life of the people to whom it belongs. All good literature is universalist in the sense that it has a value for all men *qua* men, irrespective of national distinctions. Most good literature is also nationalist, in the sense that it has a special interest for those who belong to the nation which produced it, or who can imagine themselves to belong to it for the time of reading. The reason is that most great writers have been profoundly patriotic, and have been actuated in their writing by a desire to serve their nation through enriching its language. Hence to get the full taste of good literature one must perceive in it the national note, and read it in such a way as to see its special reference to the life of the nation. The result is that men of culture are, as a rule, men of strong nationalist feeling.

The Old Testament has the nationalist note very strongly marked. Nearly every page of it proclaims that it was written primarily for Israelites, without thought of the rest of the world. Yet it is so universal in its lessons that it may be profitably read without any reference to its nationalist purpose. Thus we have two distinct ways of reading the Old Testament as literature, one of which may be called the theological, the other the cultural. The former is more natural in a translation, the latter in the original. The root of Hebrew culture, then, is the reading of the Bible in a nationalist spirit. And the reason why Jews have translated their Bible into other languages is because they read it only in the universalist, and not in the nationalist, spirit. There are no doubt many who will contend that this is the right way to read it. The whole Reform movement in modern Judaism is based on the notion that the Bible is to be read purely from the universalist point of view. But Reform Judaism has by no means absorbed all the intellectual energy of the Jewish people, and though its exponents have made a great noise in the world, it may be confidently stated that the future belongs not to them, but to those who see in the Bible primarily the expression of Jewish national feeling.

Such men are produced in fair numbers in the Jewish schools of Russia and Eastern Europe. Not that it is any part of the purpose of the Yeshibahs to turn out Hebrew culturists. The Yeshibah is given up wholly and entirely to the Talmud, and the study of the Bible is discouraged in the students, as tending to draw their minds away from the all-important subject of Jewish law. Yet there are a certain number of students whose literary tastes manage to survive the Talmudical drill, and who are attracted to the study and reading of the Bible. To them it must come perfectly natural to read the Bible from a nationalist standpoint; in fact, they may never suspect that it has any universalist bearing at all till they come into contact with the outer world. Thus the germ of Hebrew culture is contained in the Talmudical training which is prevalent among the Jews of Eastern Europe; and many are the minds in which it takes root and flourishes.

To read the Old Testament from the Jewish nationalist standpoint, eighteen hundred years after the destruction of the Jewish State; to make it the basis of a distinctively Jewish culture at a time when European culture is at its zenith, and claims the homage of all who would improve their minds; these are endeavours which might at first sight appear presumptuous, if not also superfluous and misplaced. But they have been made with success by gifted individuals throughout the nineteenth century, and they have provided the Jewish people to-day with its best instrument for preserving its separate existence. Had Mendelssohn said the last word in Jewish development, had his attitude towards the Bible and the Hebrew language become universally accepted among the Jews, the outlook for Judaism to-day would be hopeless. For although great services have been rendered to Judaism by those who adopt the Mendelssohnian standpoint, yet all that they have done would not of itself be sufficient to save the Jews from a speedy absorption in the peoples among whom they live. The seed planted by Mendelssohn has borne its richest and fairest fruit in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, a very notable work, of which American Jewry may well be proud; yet a very indifferent instrument for preserving Judaism. For it regards Judaism as a thing rather of the past than of the future; it is the *Nunc dimittis* of the Jewish people, as who should say, "We have played our part in the world as Jews, we are now at liberty to become Americans." If the *Jewish Encyclopædia* summed up the whole of Jewish intellectual effort during the nineteenth century, we might expect Judaism to become very rapidly a thing of the past.

But great as are the minds that have enrolled themselves under the banner of Mendelssohn, those that have chosen another path are just as great, if not greater, and are likely to show more staying power. Against the *Jewish Encyclopædia* and the scientific research work (mostly German) on which it is based, we can set the neo-Hebraic literature and the evolution of Hebrew into a spoken language; and the latter will probably be found in the end to weigh down the balance. The Jews of Eastern Europe during the nineteenth century have repeated the performance of their ancestors in Palestine and in the Khalifate, and have once more brought the Hebrew language "up to date," after it had fallen completely behind the cultural requirements of the age. They have made it into an instrument for dealing with all the problems of modern life, and have adapted it to the most varied literary forms. What is more, they have given it a new root, by making it the Jewish vernacular and the medium of school instruction in Palestine, so that the prospect is assured for future generations. This performance is so remarkable that a short account of the steps by which it has been accomplished may not be uninteresting.

II

In the time of Moses Mendelssohn, Hebrew had almost ceased to be a cultural language. The Jewish Rabbis and men of learning had for centuries been completely out of contact with the outer world. They were entirely ignorant of foreign languages, or of the intellectual movement of the peoples around them. Their experience was confined to the limits of the Ghetto or the Jewish settlement, and this, remaining unchanged, tended to give less and less impulse to the attainment of culture. Only a man of exceptional mental powers, like the Gaon of Wilna, could find any longer in Hebrew literature a stimulus to independent thought, or could make use of his learning for the expression of a new idea.

No sooner, however, had Mendelssohn shown the Jews how to study and write in German than they began to discover new and unsuspected powers in their own Hebrew. The pioneer of the Hebraic revival was a contemporary of Mendelssohn, Naphtali Hirsch Wessely, of Hamburg. Scarcely had Mendelssohn published his German translation of the Pentateuch when Wessely produced his great poem, "Songs of Glory," a poetic elaboration of the incidents of the life of Moses. Where Wessely struck out quite a new line was in regarding Moses as the Jewish national hero, a conception which showed clearly the influence of modern literature on the author. The same influence, too, is observable in his Hebrew style. Wessely, in fact, had been stimulated by the impact upon a non-Jewish culture to re-read the Bible in a nationalist spirit; and in giving literary expression to the sentiments which this aroused in him, he became the opener of a new epoch in Hebrew literature.

To Wessely, as to all his contemporaries, the centre of Jewish life was the Synagogue. And the Synagogue was to him a Palestinian institution, which kept alive in the hearts of the Jews their memories of the past and hopes of the future. It was therefore the source of his Jewish consciousness, and gave him the impulse towards Hebrew culture. But, were the conditions of the Jewish people normal, this impulse should come, not from the Synagogue, but from the soil of Palestine itself, the mother of that literature on which Hebrew culture is based. Consequently, Palestine has exercised an attractive force of increasing intensity on Hebrew culturists since the days of Wessely. The typical Hebrew writer of each period has been in closer touch with Palestine than his predecessor, till at last Palestine is gradually taking the place of Russia as the home of the Hebrew language. Thus there has been a transition of the inner spring of Hebrew culture from the Synagogue to the soil of Palestine, and with it a transference of its outward seat from Russia to that country; and this is the chief feature of the history of New Hebrew literature. The process of transition may be divided into four or five stages, each associated with the name of a representative writer.

The first stage was covered by Nachman Krochmal, who, in his book *Moreh Nebuche Haz'man*, examined critically the Jewish past with a view of finding what was the general tendency of Jewish history. He established the fact that what the Jewish people stood for in world-history was spirituality, and that from this point of view the true basis of Jewish life was the Bible rather than the Talmud. From this it is an easy deduction (though Krochmal does not draw it in his book) that normal conditions of Jewish life can only be realised in Palestine.

A step further was taken on the Palestinian path of Hebrew culture when Abraham Mapu published his novels, *Ahavath Zion* and *Ashmath Shomron*, which profoundly impressed the Hebrew-reading public. These works are an attempt to pierce beneath the crust of the Biblical narrative, and to picture the throbbing human life of which it points the moral. They send their readers back to the nationalist reading of the Bible, and so perform the same service as Krochmal's work, but for a much wider circle. They remind the Jew that "Erez Yisroel" is not a mere theological expression, but stands for something real and tangible; and they show the close connection which Hebrew literature had in its origin with the soil of Palestine.

The next two writers to be mentioned in this connection are Perez Smolenskin and Moses Lilienblum, who may be regarded as the two chief founders of the "Chibbath Zion" movement. The influence of Palestine upon them is seen in their Hebrew style, which is much more *secular* than that of their predecessors, and shows no trace of theological training, as does even Mapu's. The reason is that Hebrew was to them no longer the language of a church, but of a nation, or at least of a country, and they were consequently able to apply it to current topics with an ease and freedom which had not been previously attained.

The last stage in the development of Hebrew has been reached in the last decade or two by a number of writers, of whom the most representative, and in some ways the leader, is Achad Ha'am. The distinctive feature of their style is that they use Hebrew as *the language of a nation in its own country.* This unquestionably is the Hebrew of the future; a Hebrew which has its roots in the daily speech of the people, which is capable of bearing the most varied literary fruit, and which can hold on its branches the masterpieces of foreign languages.

It is this Hebrew culture which constitutes, if not the sole, at any rate the chief, hope of Judaism at the present day. As the influence of religion is waning so that of culture is growing—to some extent, it is to be feared, even at the expense of religion. It is much to be regretted that there has been a growing tendency all through the last century for Hebrew culturists to become estranged from the Jewish religion, even to take up an attitude of definite hostility to it. In its effort to root itself in the soil of Palestine, Hebrew culture has quite cut adrift from the Synagogue. No doubt the transference was worth making even at the cost of this separation; yet one would like to see the breach healed as soon as possible. And, indeed, there is good ground for hoping that the estrangement is only temporary. For how can a culture which is based on the Old Testament be anti-religious, or even irreligious, save by accident and owing to exceptional circumstances? Much allowance must be made for the men who have fought the battle of Hebrew culture in the last century, often in the teeth of very heavy obstacles. The attitude of the religious party towards them has for the most part been anything but sympathetic, and they have, like David of old, been positively driven "to serve strange gods." It is to be hoped that the atmosphere of Palestine will prove conducive to a better understanding between the opponents, and will effect a reconciliation between two parties each of which is striving for the preservation of Judaism according to its lights.

M. Simon.

The Essentials of a Nation*

Why has Israel subsisted as a nation to the present day, while the Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Romans, and other nations of antiquity have disappeared as nations? This is an old question, and it has been answered in various ways; but none of the answers is satisfactory, because there is about all of them a suggestion that not everything is said—that, in fact, the essential thing is unsaid.

The usual brief reply, "Israel has been preserved as a nation by persecution," is open to many criticisms. In the first place, a negation which is nothing beyond a negation cannot preserve; and secondly, persecution has only been the result of a fundamental difference between our nation and other nations. And so the question arises in another form: What is that difference which led to both the persecution of Israel and its persistence?

There is an even more usual answer: "The Torah has kept Israel alive as a nation." But this answer merely provokes another question: In which characteristic of the Torah lies the secret of Israel's persistence? Every nation has its laws; and what distinguishing feature has our Law that gives it alone the power of preservation? Is it the lofty ideas of the Torah? But these ideas are matter for philosophers, and the most that they could do is to prevent the Torah from being forgotten by the world, just as the great creations of the Greeks have not been forgotten. It is difficult to believe that a whole nation could have been preserved merely by abstract ideas, if they had not been made the foundation for a unique political and social development.

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* A lecture delivered recently by Dr. Klausner (editor of *Hashiloach*) at Rishon-le-Zion and at Jaffa. It is in part a reply to Achad Ha'am's recent article on Palestine, published originally in the same journal, and in English in the May number of the *Jewish Review* under the title *Summa Summarum.*

The true answer is very simple. The Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Romans were not *nations* in the real sense of the word. All these ancient peoples were loosely knit combinations of conquering tribes and conquered tribes, of master-tribes and slave-tribes. The conquering tribes were the minority, and the conquered the majority. One wandering warrior-tribe swooped down on and subdued another (or several others) richer than itself, but rendered less warlike and vigorous by years of peaceful agricultural life. The conquering tribe, though a minority, became the lord and master, while the conquered tribe—the majority—was forcibly excluded from all share in power and government, driven into the lower kinds of physical toil, and reckoned of no more account than the beasts, which a man only uses for his own purposes. As time went on, the tribal differences between the conquering and the conquered tribes were more or less effaced; but there remained a gulf between the descendants of the conquerors and those of the conquered, who formed different castes or classes. The members of the ruling caste were kings, princes, priests, rulers, and nobles; those of the lower caste were the bond-slaves—the agricultural labourers, the journeymen, the unskilled workmen, the proletariat. These two main classes (for each class might be divided into various grades) were exactly like two nations. The ruling class had plenty of leisure, and was trained to govern. Its members could read and write, develop literature and art, speculate about religion, perfect the language and refine the taste, create conceptions of good and evil, beautiful and ugly, right and wrong. The lower class had no part in all this. They could not read or write, and so were cut off from literature. They could not pay any attention to art "for anguish of spirit and for cruel bondage." Their "religion" was a farrago of follies. Their language was not that of the upper classes, but an uncouth dialect, which the ruling class scarcely understood, and which never attained the dignity of a literary language. Their moral ideas, like their æsthetic ideas, were as far removed as possible from those of the ruling class. Not only were there a "slave-morality" and a "master-morality," there were a "slave-taste" and a "master-taste." Thus the lower class, the proletariat, had no part in any of the national possessions. Bearing without complaint an intolerable burden, they became nothing more than cattle. Little by little they lost their divine humanity, so that the two classes became two different kinds of men, holding no communion with one another. Is it possible in such circumstances to speak of a "nation" or a "people" in the modern sense?

When, therefore, a new conqueror came and captured one of the lands of antiquity, he met with no *willing* opposition from the proletariat. The ruling class alone fought for its freedom, and forced the enslaved class to help it. But the enslaved class fought without sincerity. What could it lose? It could only exchange one hard master for another. As for love of fatherland—how should this come to a beast of burden tottering beneath his load? Hence on the victory of the new conqueror the proletariat became enslaved to him as it had been enslaved before to the ruling class. For some time it retained, out of habit, the follies that served it for a religion, and the uncouth dialect that served it for a language; other national possessions it had none. But after a few decades one set of follies and one dialect were gradually exchanged for another. The ruling class, on its side, could not protect its national possessions, because it had no roots in a national soil—in the great proletariat class. Ruling classes are apt to become weak and enervated by wealth, power, and luxury; and when they lose these, they are ready to give up all sorts of national possessions in return for material and tangible personal possessions. For this reason they always tend to ally themselves with the powers that be, even if the power is in the hands of another people which has wronged and enslaved their country. Poor in resources, they are dependent on the proletariat for the satisfaction of their material wants, and on the new conquerors for power and luxury, while at the same time they derive no strength from the proletariat, which is completely cut off from them. Hence they cannot maintain their hold on their national possessions, and they are swallowed up and absorbed in the new conquerors. A good instance of this process is to be seen in the history of Syria and Egypt under the Greeks, from the time of Alexander onwards. The upper classes of the Syrians and the Egyptians lightly changed their religion for that of the Greeks. This is small wonder, for it meant but a change of names. Similarly, the Syrian and Egyptian languages were quickly changed for Greek. Even the Romans,* with all their noble culture, gave place to barbarous nations, suffered one conquest after another, and in a few generations lost their national possessions one by one, until the very name of Roman disappeared. This happened because there was no Roman *nation*. There was on the one side a Roman *proletariat*, which knew of nothing but "bread and shows," and had no part in all the national possessions, and no patriotism; and on the other side an "upper ten thousand" of patricians, proud of their national possessions and ardently patriotic, but few in number, dependent on others for the satisfaction of all their wants and for power and sovereignty, and drawing no sustenance from that perennial fountain—the great mass of the nation—which creates all that is most vital and most necessary in life.

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* The Greeks, who had something like a free and national proletariat (the "demos" and the "metics"), subsisted as a nation—though a mixed nation with a new faith and a broken historical tradition.

Israel was saved from national destruction because it became a *nation* at a comparatively early period. This miracle was wrought by the Prophets. Much has been said of the value of the Prophetic ideas from the point of view of humanity as a whole; and much has been said of the Prophets' love for their people. But nothing has yet been said of the national work of the Prophets on its constructive side; that is, of their relation to the social fabric of their nation. Israel, like other peoples, had conquering tribes and enslaved tribes (on the one side, Judah and Ephraim, on the other, Benjamin, Reuben, Simeon, and the descendants of the sons of the handmaids); and within the tribes themselves there was a ruling class—consisting of kings, princes, priests, and in general all the great property-owners—which tried to enslave the masses, to keep the class of small peasants under, and to exploit the day-labourers. But Judah and Israel still preserved some memory of the "liberty, equality, and fraternity" of the "generation of the wilderness," the time when the nomad Hebrew tribes were free groups of families, living together like brothers, and all equal before the patriarch. It was the Prophets who were the faithful guardians of this wilderness tradition; and it was not without good ground that they always spoke in the name of the God of their ancestors.* They stood in the way of all those who wanted to make the masses of Israel or of Judah into beasts of burden. When they denounced every act of oppression and injustice committed by the powerful against the weak, they not only made themselves the defenders of the masses: *they made the masses a nation.* If all human beings were sprung from one pair, made by God in His own image; if there was one Father and one Creator for all; if all the people were holy, and none had a right to be exalted over the rest; if the ideal was that all the Lord's people should be prophets—then clearly the upper classes had no claim to a monopoly of all the national possessions. Soil, country, language, religion, literature, power, and sovereignty, and, above all, the Torah—that Torah which fought for justice, equality, brotherhood, and liberty, and in which both religion and literature and language were included—belonged just as much to the masses as to the classes. The upper classes were not quick to acknowledge this fact; but in time they were forced to do so. For the masses heard the words of the Prophets every day; the chosen among them gradually gathered round their great defenders; and they began to feel and to regard themselves as an important part of the nation, worthy to be on an equality with the upper classes in privileges, political rights, and patriotic duties. Hence we find even in the last days of the first Temple, along with the triumph of the Prophetic influence, the masses, the *'am-ha'aretz*, taking part in the political and social life of the country, and even drawing to their side a section of the rulers and nobles. Hence also in the time of the second Temple we find the religion of Israel and the Torah spreading more and more among the people, and becoming more and more democratic. We find already among the masses, the producers of material wealth, a considerable number of men who are familiar with all the national possessions, and are ready to give their lives for them. Judah is already a real nation, and not merely a combination of a numerous and despised proletariat with a few monopolist nobles. In the time of the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes it was the masses—the tillers and slaves of the land—who sacrificed their lives for the Law and the national freedom, and it was just the nobles and the rulers—not, indeed, all of them—who were ready to exchange their national heritage for that of the Greeks, like the Syrian and the Egyptian nobles. Again, when the second Temple fell it was the masses who stood by the finer spirits among the upper classes in the heroic struggle for liberty of country and religion, while most of the nobles and rulers advocated peace or went over to the Romans. The masses of Judah had, in fact, something to lose—equality and fraternity and liberty, all combined in the Torah of the Prophets, and in the religion of the Torah, which had its source in the God of their fathers. So they defended their ancestral heritage to the last gasp. And when Jerusalem fell, and the masses were scattered over different lands, it was impossible that Israel as a nation should perish: the Torah was too broad-based on a democratic foundation, too impartial, for that to happen. The masses knew the value of the Torah, which made them equal in almost every way with the upper classes (who had by then lost the essentials of power). For this reason they helped to preserve the nation by saving those of its possessions which could still be rescued from the ruins of their independent political life. The Tannaim, the Amoraim, the Geonim, and the Rabbonim after them were the pupils and the pupils' pupils of the Pharisees, who were the popular party, as opposed to the Sadducees, the aristocratic party. The culture of Israel, then, was saved by those great men whose roots were in the masses of Israel.

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* See Dr. Klausner's (Hebrew) *History of Israel*, I, pp. 8, 9, 33, etc.

It was a great mistake of political Zionism to proclaim, as Herzl and Nordau did in their speeches, that it had come to put an end to the sufferings of the Jews. It is not in the power of Zionism, or of any other movement in the world, to give bread to the hungry millions of Israel, and to gather the majority of the Jews together in Palestine. None the less, if Zionism wishes to be a revolution in the national life of Israel, and not merely a cultured pastime, it must aim at a solution of the economic problem, and at the creation of a Jewish majority in Palestine. One need not be a historical materialist to acknowledge that a normal national culture is possible only where the masses of the nation in question produce those economic commodities which supply the most elementary material needs. Where a spiritually developed nation depends for the satisfaction of its physical wants on the proletariat of another nation, there is no firm basis for its culture, and no hope of its persistence. Seventy years ago all the educated people in Bohemia used to speak German, and there was no such thing as a Bohemian (Czech) literature. Bohemian was spoken only by the masses. Even Karl Marx, the prophet of the proletariat, prophesied at that time that the Bohemians (like the rest of the Slavs) would inevitably be absorbed by the Germans. But what do we see to-day ? The language of the masses is spreading, and already has a considerable literature, and in all cultural matters the Germans are being displaced by the Bohemians and their national culture. The same thing has happened to the Slovenes. A short time ago they were dominated by German culture, which, however, had no *popular* basis. Now the Slovene language and culture are gradually driving out the German. In Finland, again, the educated classes were for centuries under the influence of the Swedish men of culture, who settled among the Finns as teachers, merchants, or administrators, while the masses, the farmers and labourers, spoke Finnish. But which has conquered—the language of the simple farmers or that of the educated ? Which is dominant now in Finland—the Finnish language and culture, or the Swedish ? It is noticeable, too, that the Finnish language, which has won the mastery, is less developed than the Swedish : it is not a European language at all, and its literature is very poor. Swedish culture is superior in every respect to Finnish. And yet the inferior language and culture have conquered the superior, because in the one case the language and culture are broad-based on the masses of the people, whereas in the other they rest only on the " upper ten thousand."

We have in Europe three movements for the revival of languages supposed dead: the Provençal revival in South France, the Gaelic revival in Ireland, and the Breton revival. The two first-named have made great strides, and the whole of Europe already shows interest in them. Provençal has even had a great poet—Mistral—who has won the Nobel prize for literature. But the Breton movement has not succeeded; and the reason is that its adherents were found only among the educated—the teachers, priests, and lawyers—but not among the simple farmers and the masses.*

This is a fact to which Achad Ha'am ought to have paid attention when he wrote his article, *Summa Summarum.*† I will not here discuss the question whether he observed correctly in Palestine or not. In my opinion the Jew is fitted to be a simple tiller of the ground, and not only an "upper-class farmer of the type of Boaz"; and so there is ground for hoping that in time we shall have a "rural proletariat." I have seen isolated Jews who are thorough agricultural labourers precisely in poor colonies like Atlit, Sedjera, Mishmar-Hajarden, and others. I have seen thorough Hebrew labourers, doing every kind of hard work, on the farms of the National Fund, in Mejdel, in En-Gannim, in Beer-Jacob—working along with the Arabs, or without them. These, unfortunately, are isolated cases; but at any rate they are sufficient to dispel the view which Achad Ha'am reiterates with so much emphasis—that the character of our people (at all events at present) makes the simple Jewish workman and the Jewish rural proletariat impossible. But if we admit that Achad Ha'am's observation was correct and not mine (and after all, he has been in Palestine several times, and I only once: though indeed this fact might have just the opposite effect, for the distressing things which he saw years ago may have left their impression on his mind, despite his efforts to free himself from it), then the one logical conclusion which can be drawn from his *Summa Summarum* is this: that we shall never have even a spiritual centre in Palestine, but only a *Golus* community of Jews, differing a little from the other *Golus* communities in its greater percentage of landholders.

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* See E. Dright, "A Celtic Renaissance of the Past" (*Fortnightly Review*, 1907).

† *Hashiloach*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (*Jewish Review*, Vol. III, No. 13).

This conclusion is self-evident after what has been said above. I will not dilate here on a glaring contradiction in Achad Ha'am's philosophy. His criticism of Dubnow is based on the idea that there is no possibility of a free Jewish culture unless the Jews become a majority in their historic land (not, as the political Zionists thought, that the majority of the Jews must be in Palestine, but at any rate that the majority of the inhabitants of Palestine must be Jews). But if we are not to have in Palestine " a rural proletariat in its thousands and tens of thousands," then we can never have an absolute majority there. A majority in the cities is not decisive, both because it is not a majority in the whole country and because the city depends on the country. Achad Ha'am, then, has admitted the correctness of Dubnow's view. Nor, again, will I discuss the moral question whether it is right that Jewish " upper-class farmers " should live by the labour of simple Arab workmen. It is not for me to teach Achad Ha'am ethics. Nor will I speak of the change of front on the part of Achad Ha'am, who formerly, when he saw anything in Palestine that was harmful to the colonising movement, used to fight strenuously against it, opposing, like the Prophets of Israel, the actual in the name of the ideal: whereas now he compromises with so awful a fact as this terrible " privilege," that " the work of our farmers is done by others," and justifies this fact by an appeal to our national characteristics, or by pointing out that it is unjust for a Jew not to give work to an Arab, but to do it himself or employ his brother Jew ! * I will only mention one actual fact. In the Baltic Provinces the landowners (the "upper-class farmers of the type of Boaz") are Germans, and the simple farmers and the rough labourers are Letts. The political and social position of the Germans rests on thin air, as they discovered themselves but a few years ago, in the days of the Russian revolution, when they only maintained their footing by force of arms. But apart from this, where is the national culture, the *German* culture, created by the Baltic Boaz ? A short time ago it appeared, at least, as though he was the cultured element in the country. But even this appearance is vanishing : a vigorous Lettish literature is growing up, whereas the German literature of the Provinces consists only of a few periodicals.

On what ground, then, does Achad Ha'am believe that Hebrew culture will triumph over Arabic ? It is true that for the moment there is no "Arabic peril" in the sphere of culture. The only Arabs with whom the Jews come into contact are rude peasants ; and they think that these are the only Arabs in the country, so that it is impossible that these despised people should exert a cultural influence on them. Yes ; but "the wise man is he who sees what is being born"—what is coming to birth, being fashioned, becoming actual. In the first place, the Arabs are a people with an ancient culture ; and who knows so well as we do that a people with an ancient culture has no need to create something out of nothing, and can climb the ladder of culture much more easily than other peoples ? Secondly, the Arabs have already a modern literature, superior to modern Hebrew literature in quantity, and not inferior in quality. In Beirut alone there are twenty Arabic papers ; that is to say, more than there are Hebrew papers in the whole world. There was in Cairo some years ago (and perhaps still is) an Arabic women's paper—a thing of which we cannot even dream in Hebrew. A great general and Arabic-Mussulman Encyclopædia is approaching completion; in Hebrew there is no such thing as yet. The number of Arabic books published last year is at least twice as great as that of the Hebrew books published in our best years. This Arabic literature will come—after the establishment of the constitutional regime in Turkey it is bound to come—to Palestine, which is so close to Syria and Egypt. If it does not come to-day, it will come to-morrow. There are already four Arabic papers in Palestine; there are, therefore, educated Arabs in the country. It may be suggested that this Arabic culture cannot possibly influence the Jews in Palestine. But, unfortunately, we have abundant evidence that the Palestinian Jews, who are so proud of their "independence," are apt to be influenced even by the rude peasants. The Arab drivers and watchmen in Rishon and other places have learnt to talk a little Yiddish, and some of them (though very few) have even picked up a few Hebrew words. But on the other side *all* the younger people in *all* the colonies speak Arabic, and most even of the older people (especially the women), who have never learnt to speak Hebrew to this day, speak Arabic more or less. Further, the Jews have already managed to acquire the Arab songs and dances, and to boast of the Arab *abayeh* and *kephia,* while the Arabs show no inclination at all to adopt Jewish fashions. Whoever has eyes must see that the influence of Arabic "culture," worthless as that "culture" is at present, is felt in Palestine on every hand. What, then, is the ground of Achad Ha'am's confidence in the power of Jewish culture, in a land where all the conditions are created by Arabs?

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* Dr. Klausner is here dealing with a part of Achad Ha'am's article which was not included in the English translation. Achad Ha'am does not appear to have expressed the opinion attributed to him.

The Hebrew colony Rosh-Pinah and the Arabic village Djuni stand side by side. Yet all the Hebrew children of Rosh-Pinah speak Arabic as well as Hebrew, whereas among all the Arab children of Djuni I saw only one who spoke a little Hebrew. The other Arab children, who play with the Hebrew children, do not know Hebrew, nor even Yiddish, which is spoken by almost all the colonists in Rosh-Pinah. So it is also in Zichron-Jacob and the other colonies which have Arab settlements near them. The matter is simple. On the face of it the Arabs seem to be in need of the Jews of Rosh-Pinah, who give them work. But in truth it is not so. If the Jews ceased to give the Arabs work, the Arabs would exist as they existed before the Jews settled near them. But if the Arabs determined one fine day to have nothing to do with the Jews, the Jews could not exist for a single hour. Their fields would remain untilled, and they would have no bread; their sheep and cattle would remain untended, and they would have no milk or meat; they would not even have vegetables. Who, then, stand in need—the Jews of the Arabs, or the Arabs of the Jews? But he who stands in need of his neighbour is apt to receive from him what is called "culture" in the broad sense: his language, his customs, and his manner of life. And, in fact, the Jews do receive all these things from the Arabs. They not only take pleasure in Arab dress and Arab songs, as has been said, but even when they speak Hebrew or Yiddish they take from Arabic most of the fundamental words, the words denoting the necessaries of life or things connected with agriculture and the soil. The Jews of Palestine do not eat *zethim* (olives), but *zethonim;* not *kishuim* (cucumbers), but *kusim.* More than this: there are many Hebrew colonies which are known in Palestine by their Arabic, and not by their Hebrew, names; for instance, "Katra" and "Kustina," not "Gadra" and "Beer-Tobiah"; "Mascha" and "Jama," not "Kephar-Tabor" and "Jabniel"; and there are colonies, like Sedjera and Chedera, which have no Hebrew name at all. In the face of all this, how can we look for a Hebrew culture free from the dominance of Arab culture?

In one of the Judean colonies I went for a walk on Sabbath after the afternoon prayer, and saw Arab servant-girls nursing Hebrew infants of one and two years old, and talking to them in Arabic. Thus almost the first word which the Palestinian Hebrew child hears is an Arabic word—just as with us in the Diaspora! The reason for this is that the masses in Palestine are Arabs, and they unconsciously influence the whole of our life in the country. How can we hope to resist this influence, which is the more dangerous because it is not exerted of set purpose?

Some years ago the Zionist world was greatly perturbed by fear of the French language. But in reality French is a danger to Hebrew only in so far as it lessens the number of those who speak Hebrew, and strengthens the Spaniolish jargon of the Sephardim, which is akin to French. It has no roots in the land, although it is necessary for business purposes, because there is no large French population in the country. Still less dangerous is English: there is no large English population, and English is not the language of business. It is not pleasant to hear Russian in Palestine. But there is no need to be afraid of Russian: there is no large Russian population in Palestine, and therefore no soil on which the Russian language and culture can grow. German is more dangerous: for in the first place there are German settlements in the Palestinian cities, and also a few German colonies, and these constitute a German population, though in a restricted sense; and secondly, the German language, when spoken by the Jews of Palestine, naturally turns into Yiddish, and so strengthens the hold of Yiddish.

But in reality Hebrew has only two dangerous rivals in Palestine: the jargon (whether German or Spanish) and Arabic, because both jargon and Arabic are spoken by large bodies of people. The jargon danger is more serious at present; the Arabic danger lies rather in the future, and is not so serious to-day. But if we remember that the Arab masses in Palestine are more numerous and a more vital force than the jargon-speaking masses, we shall easily understand which is the greater danger. Nor must we forget that the jargon-speaking masses are a danger only to our language, whereas the Arabic masses are a danger both to our language and to all the other branches of our culture.*

This cultural danger will not pass away so long as the Jews need the Arabs at every turn; so long as the tillers of their land, the providers of their food, the milkers of their cows, their servant-girls, their drivers, their carriers are aliens: in a word, so long as there is not a Jewish "rural proletariat," which can supply all our vital needs, and make Palestine different in this respect also from the Diaspora. If we are not to have such a proletariat in the land of our hopes, Palestine will be but an extension of the *Golus*. Our "upper-class farmer" will be but a purveyor of grain or fruit; our "Boaz" will be no different from a Jewish landowner in Galicia. An upper grade without lower grades has no roots in the national soil, and is not a nation; and where there is no nation there is no national culture. A national culture whose roots are not fixed deep down in the soil, and have not penetrated beneath the outer crust to the very innermost layer, is apt to be overturned by any breath of wind. And without a national culture there can be no spiritual centre.

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* Of course, it is not my intention to forbid the use of the Arabic language. Arabic is necessary in Palestine at present, and there is no fighting against necessity. I think that it would be a very useful thing if an "Oriental Institute" were founded in Palestine for the thorough study of the Arabic and Turkish languages and literatures, as well as Arabic and Turkish law and kindred subjects, as a means to gaining national and political influence in the country. But these studies must of necessity be confined to a few. The majority can be content with picking up Arabic by hearing it spoken—just as our grandfathers, fifty years ago, used to speak Russian or Polish because business and their livelihood compelled them. But it would be very wrong to spread the knowledge of the Arabic language and literature deliberately, by teaching them in our elementary and middle schools. When our fathers began to learn Russian and Polish at school, deliberate assimilation began: and from that there is no rescue or escape.

To sum up: either we must hope for a rural proletariat of our own, and strive for it with all our might, or we must despair even of a spiritual centre. To despair of the proletariat and to hope for the spiritual centre is to believe that you can build a house without a foundation. True, the important thing is the house, and not the foundation; but without the foundation the house is only a castle in the air.

Dr. J. Klausner.

(*Translated by Leon Simon.*)

Jewish Educational Disorganisation in London

In every Jewry it is coming to be recognised that the welfare of Judaism depends on the system of Jewish education in the country. For a hundred years the Jews of the West have been passing into a new environment which has caused an extraordinary ferment and breaking up of the old ideas. The hearts of the fathers are turned to the children, but the hearts of the children are turned away from the fathers. Yet the change in educational methods which was required to meet the new circumstances has for the most part not been attempted. The nations among whom we live have during the last half-century paid great attention to educational problems and revolutionised their schools; but the Jewish people have in the main been content to preserve the teaching methods of their forefathers, ineffective though they have proved to hold the younger generation to loyalty to the religion. Ahead of the rest of the world in our charitable provision for the sick, the weak, and the helpless, we are behind them in our organisation of religious education. But during the last few years the gravity of the problem and the greatness of the need have been forcing themselves on the Jewish communities in English-speaking countries. The Kehillah of New York, which was founded but three years ago, has made its first care the improvement of Jewish education in the city which has a greater Jewish population than has ever been collected together in the Dispersion. And in the Jewry of London, though there has hitherto been no definite movement toward a thorough reform or a systematic organisation of the different institutions occupied with education, there has been much talk and discussion, not a few schemes have been mooted, and some practical work has been accomplished in the way of supplying central control and expert supervision. The moment is therefore opportune for considering the present position of Jewish Religious Education in London and comparing it with the position in New York, it being premised that the conditions of metropolitan Jewry are to a great extent reproduced on a smaller scale in the provincial towns and require similar measures of reform.

When the Jewish community of London began in the middle of the last century to reach large proportions, the need for public educational institutions was supplied by the foundation of "voluntary" elementary schools, i.e. schools supported by the religious denomination which gave secular as well as a religious teaching. At that time the system of compulsory national education was not in force, and the State encouraged the educational institutions of religious bodies by making grants in aid of the secular part of their work. It was at this time and in these circumstances that the Jews' Free School, the Stepney Jewish Schools, and four or five similar schools were erected in the metropolis: and in the provinces likewise each Jewish community of any importance maintained one voluntary school. Two causes combined to arrest the extension of the voluntary school movement at the end of the nineteenth century: the large immigration of poor Jews from Russia and Roumania and the development of the national education system. It was impossible for the congregations of Anglo-Jewry to provide Jewish schools for the mass of the children of the new arrivals: and, further, it appeared to be unnecessary. The State had now undertaken to supply elementary secular education for every child in the country, and therefore the religious body was only called on to make provision for its special religious teaching. The existing voluntary schools were maintained, and now accommodate some 7500 children who every day receive a certain amount of Hebrew and religious teaching. But no new institutions of the kind were built. Hence there was a necessary divorce between secular and religious instruction ; and it is hopeless to expect that the two can again be generally combined in England. For that reason the proposals to strengthen Jewish education by increasing the number of Jewish schools which give a complete elementary education seem to be affected with "an accent of futility." One or two attempts on a small scale might be made,—at great expense, seeing that the institutions would have to compete with the State school,—but they could at best deal only with the fringe of the problem.

Anyhow, the leaders of the Anglo-Jewish community, instead of adding to the number of voluntary schools, set themselves to provide special Jewish teaching for the Jewish children attending the national, or, as they were called, the Board schools. The Society for the Diffusion of Jewish Knowledge was reconstituted as the Jewish Religious Education Board in 1895, for the purpose of maintaining classes for Hebrew and religious instruction in connection with the State schools. The classes are held once or twice a week in the school building, and no fees are charged; the cost, which is about £5000 a year, being met partly by a rate levied on all seatholders of the United Synagogues and partly by subscriptions and donations. The Board has continually expanded its classes with the growth of the Jewish population, and it now makes provision for some 8000 boys and girls, of whom the bulk live in the East End of London. But whereas the separation between religious and secular teaching called for an intensification of the Jewish part of the education, and the fact that the child was during the day being instructed in a non-Jewish environment, often by a non-Jewish teacher, tended to weaken the Jewish consciousness, and demanded a strong counteracting force, the educational standard in the classes of the Jewish Religious Education Board fell below that attained in the Jewish voluntary schools. In the three or four hours a week of Jewish teaching it would not have been possible in any case to inculcate much Hebrew knowledge or an adequate understanding of Judaism, and in most cases the teaching was not of a high character. The teachers were mainly young elementary school teachers who had themselves received a meagre Jewish education and who at times knew only one lesson more than their pupils. Consequently those parents who were zealous for the Judaism of their children and who desired them to know the Torah, were not content with the classes of the Board—at least for their sons. The smattering of Hebrew and the religious teaching which was imparted there might in their opinion be sufficient for the girls, but it was inadequate to make the boys good Jews. And so, thinking that what had been good for them would be good for their children, they sent their sons to the Cheder or the Talmud-Torah and immured them there in the evening hours when they had returned from the day school.

The Cheder is a private educational institution held at a private house, and run for profit by a person whose qualification for teaching is normally that he has none for any other vocation. The number of pupils varies between a dozen and a hundred : the boys attend four or five occasions in the week for two or three hours a time, and a certain amount of Hebrew is hammered into them partly by individual instruction, partly by a mind-deadening recitation in class. The parents pay for their teaching a weekly fee ranging from a few pence to a shilling. The Talmud-Torah is a more public institution managed by an elected committee of parents and subscribers, and almost always run at a loss, which is met by the contributions of the promoters and outside sympathisers. It is located in a special building which, however, is often originally designed for other uses and may be quite unsuitable for a school. The head master possesses regularly considerable Hebrew qualifications; the assistant-teachers, who are mainly drawn from the class of foreign Melammedim, all possess some Hebrew knowledge, and a few have some general educational experience and some conception of method; but many of them have an indifferent knowledge of the English language and English ways. The number of pupils varies between fifty and six or seven hundred. There are two institutions for girls, the rest are exclusively for boys. The hours of attendance are similar to those at the Cheder, the teaching is considerably better: and a certain amount of religion and Bible history is taught as well as Hebrew. The medium of instruction is generally English, but in two or three schools in London it is Hebrew and in one Yiddish.

A considerable number of the boys are taught gratuitously: the parents of the rest pay according to their means as at the Cheder. Some six years ago, by the generous support of the late Lord Swaythling and Mr. Hermann Landau, the Talmud-Torah Trust was instituted for the purpose of giving financial aid and exercising some educational supervision over the various Talmud-Torahs. It now comprises all the larger and nearly all the smaller schools of the kind in London, which contain together about 4000 children: and it distributes among them rather less than £500 a year. Notwithstanding this aid and the heroic efforts of their committees, endless devices for raising contributions, and constant appeals to the public, most of the Talmud-Torahs are regularly on the margin of starvation and some of them are regularly over it. The rank and file of the Anglo-Jewish community have determined that they are not to be encouraged; they disapprove of their long hours, their overcrowded classes, their inadequate accommodation and their antiquated methods of teaching; and they perpetuate those evils by their refusal to assist the institutions.

The parents are resolved to secure for their children the opportunity of knowing the Torah: they would willingly accept better methods and better conditions, had they the means. It is their poverty, not their perversity, which induces the overcrowding of the schools, the excessive quantity and defective quality of the teaching, and it is the perversity or the indifference of the anglicised Jews which makes them blind to the noble ideal at the back of the institutions.

One other important class of school in the metropolis is formed by the synagogue classes, which are now combined in a Union of Hebrew and Religion Classes and represent nearly 2000 children. It is only within the last twenty years that a religious school has regularly been attached to the synagogue, and only within the last five years that there has been a central organisation of these schools. There is still a great lack of uniformity in their educational system. The classes meet in some cases three or four times a week, in others but once, according to the religious zeal of the locality; and their curriculum approximates in the former to the Talmud-Torah system and in the latter to that of the Jewish Religious Education Board. The synagogues again raise the expenditure upon the classes in various ways: some entirely by subscriptions, others partly by children's fees and partly by subscriptions, and others out of their general surplus. The Union receives a grant from the United Synagogues of £150 and collects about the same amount in subscriptions, and by this means it supplements the income of those classes which are in need of help, and secures some kind of standard of teaching. The Jewish Religious Education Board, the Talmud-Torah Trust, and the Union of Synagogue Classes have each appointed an honorary Education Committee, which supervises the teaching and the curriculum, and the appointment and salary of the teachers. The membership of these committees is in some degree common, and in this way some measure of uniform action is secured in regard to educational requirements; but the administration of each is at present entirely independent. And there is still a glaring gap in the chain of schools. The number of Jewish children of school age is estimated at 35,000; the present institutions account for about 20,000 and probably another 2000 receive private instruction at home. But there remain something like 13,000 who do not get any religious teaching beyond what their parents may impart to them.

As an army, it is said, moves on its stomach, so an educational system depends on its teachers. And here especially Jewish education in England is deficient. Attached to the Jewish Religious Education Board there is indeed a committee which deals with the training of teachers. Its special function is to assist young Jewish men and women in attaining the necessary college training to qualify as certificated teachers in public elementary schools. The committee, however, insists that all students who receive its grant shall attend its Hebrew classes, which are held once a week, and shall qualify for Teachers' Certificates, which are issued on the result of examinations held by the authority of Jews' College. The standard of Hebrew knowledge attained in view of the limited time for teaching and preparation is necessarily low; but the bulk of the teachers at the classes of the Jewish Religious Education Board and those attached to synagogues are, in fact, drawn from this source. The Jews' College occasionally provides, in addition to its ministers who are all naturally qualified to teach, a certain number of teachers from among those who have either not been willing to adopt the ministry as a profession or who have not yet been able to practise it; and occasionally, but very seldom, a capable teacher appears, as it were, from the skies. But there is no body of specially trained men and women for whom Hebrew and religious teaching is their main vocation, and there are no facilities for higher Hebrew and religious education. And the remuneration of Jewish teachers is at present such that it is impossible to expect young men and women to fit themselves for it by a long and thorough training. Hebrew teaching is for the teacher, as Hebrew education for the child, a secondary thing.

Such then is the present position of Jewish Religious Education in London. If there is less chaos than existed a few years ago, there is still a woeful absence of clear aim, skilled direction, and central control, an insufficient grasp of the whole problem, a total neglect of some thousands of Jewish children, and an inadequate educational provision for some thousands more, an indifferent support by the general community of the largest and most serious religious schools, a complete lack of suitable text-books, for both teachers and children, and lastly—what is the most serious defect—a dearth of fully-qualified teachers and of the facilities for training them for the future.

Let us turn now to the position in New York, the Jewry whose circumstances are most like our own, but magnified fivefold. There are 200,000 children of school age in the city, of whom at present less than 50,000 attend any Jewish school, whether a Talmud-Torah or a Cheder, a Sunday-school or a synagogue class. The very vastness of the problem is in some way an advantage to the Kehillah, which has set itself to attack it. In America they are prone to big evils and big remedies, and the dimensions of the work to be done stimulate a largeness in the design for accomplishing it. The Kehillah, too, has the advantage of starting almost with a clean slate; it can apply modern ideas, and establish a modern system with less resistance from existing institutions than would be possible in England. Its first work was to get a grasp of the problem, and by the munificence of Mr. Jacob Schiff it was able to establish an Education Bureau, which has as its object (1) To study all the Jewish educational forces in New York with a view to co-operation and the elimination of waste; (2) To organise the teachers and workers for their material and spiritual advancement; (3) To make propaganda in order to acquaint parents with the problem and the means of solving it; (4) To operate one or two model schools for elementary pupils, for the purpose of working out the various phases of primary education. It had the good fortune also to discover an organising genius as its director in Dr. Benderly, a Palestinian Jew, who had already for some years conducted a model Talmud-Torah at Baltimore. The effect of his survey of existing educational forces is so applicable to our conditions that it may be quoted here:

"The most striking feature is the lack of uniformity. On the one hand is the Sunday-school satisfied with two hours a week, on Sunday morning; on the other hand are some of the Talmud-Torahs, with three hours a day five times a week, keeping supperless children confined until eight o'clock in the evening. On the one hand there is the Sunday-school teacher, with a knowledge of classroom management and an understanding of the American youth, but practically ignorant of the subject-matter of Jewish education; on the other hand we find the foreign-born teacher with a knowledge of Hebrew, but ignorant of the vernacular, lacking an understanding of the American-Jewish youth and innocent of the technique of teaching. On the one hand there are Talmud-Torah classrooms packed to the door with fifty to sixty children of all ages, ill-classified, ill-prepared, and taught in mass in the poorest fashion; and on the other hand is the Cheder, with the individual attention it gives to pupils at the rate of ten minutes per pupil. On the one hand an annual budget of 30,000 dollars for the largest Talmud-Torahs; and on the other hand the Cheder budget running to about 400 dollars per annum. Only in one respect uniformity prevails: The results attained in all are alike inadequate, and the more intelligent people connected with the schools are all equally dissatisfied."

The proposals Dr. Benderly made for the remedy of this state of things, and for the provision of Jewish education for the thousands of children who at present go without it are so large as to stagger our more limited vision. Asserting that to secure a successful Jewish system of education we must employ the very elements that give the non-Jewish environment the great power it has over our children, he asked for 15,000,000 dollars for school buildings, 3,000,000 dollars annually for the instruction, the maintenance of the buildings and the training of teachers sufficient to provide about 200 fully trained men and women annually. Pending the attainment of his plan in its fullness, the Bureau is proceeding on more modest but not less systematic lines. It has discovered that the root of the problem lies in the question of teachers, and it is therefore endeavouring to raise Hebrew and religious teaching to the height of a profession, and to supply facilities for those teachers who are anxious to perfect themselves in their vocation. For those who possess an adequate Hebrew education but lack English, it has established courses in English and pedagogy; for those who possess a modern education but are lacking in a knowledge of Judaism, it has established evening courses in Hebrew. It has set itself also to supply the need for text-books, and has raised a loan fund of 10,000 dollars for that purpose. It has come to the help of the Talmud-Torahs, which, as here, are in a struggling financial condition, and has given them financial as well as moral assistance in return for a large control over the institutions. For the purposes of its education work the Kehillah has raised a sum of 300,000 dollars (£60,000), which is to be used by the Bureau over a period of five years. That gives an annual income of 60,000 dollars, of which half is applied for the assistance of existing institutions and half for the establishment of new model schools and the training of teachers. But its President, Doctor Magnes, has stated that in a few years it must have 300,000 dollars annually for its educational work.

The report of the work of the Education Bureau of the New York Kehillah is stimulating, and at the same time depressing for the English Jew who is concerned for the future of Judaism in this country ; stimulating because it suggests the way the educational problem must be tackled ; depressing because it leaves an uneasy feeling that there is a large vision in America which is wanting here. But at least the attempt should be made to follow in the footsteps of the New York community. We need, no less than they needed, an Education Bureau, which would exercise a general control and give a skilled direction to the different educational institutions, which would prevent overlapping and could see to the provision of education in districts that are at present starved, which would provide for the common wants that are to-day neglected, and distribute financial assistance to approved institutions now hopelessly crippled by want of means, and which would, above all, look to the training and proper remuneration of efficient teachers who, possessing the knowledge that brings sympathy, would be able to carry the spirit of Judaism into their classes. The Bureau would be the instrument of an Education Council consisting of representatives of all the bodies at present concerned with Jewish education in the metropolis. But we need, no less, a man as head of the Bureau, of big ideals and great organising power, who shall be able to look to all these things and carry them through. A Director of Education is not less necessary to us than a Chief Rabbi. To establish the Bureau and make it effective, and to secure the Director who is needed, the community will have to provide several thousands a year in addition to what it already gives for Jewish education. In London we can speak in thousands and not in millions, but we are too inclined to give in hundreds. At present the community contributes about £12,000 a year for public educational institutions, and it may be said with safety that only a fraction of that sum bears fruit. If it took a larger view of the educational need, and contributed as much again, it might do something effective for the upbuilding of a sound and progressive Judaism in England. Our sages taught that the study of the Torah (Talmud-Torah) stands above all other duties, and is a greater merit than any kind of charity or philanthropy; and that principle is as true to-day for Anglo-Jewry, surrounded by the subtle forces of assimilation and disintegration, as it was for the Jews in Palestine surrounded by the brutal forces of Roman might. It is futile for us to protest against the machinations of the missionaries while our own religious teaching is inefficient, and it is absurd to bewail the loss of a few hundred children while we allow thousands to grow up without a sound knowledge of our faith. The preservation of Judaism in any country ultimately depends on the goodness of Jewish education. Like the general community, Anglo-Jewry must deal with its educational problem on a broad and scientific system, and as it is indirectly taxed without complaint for the secular education of the whole people, so, if it hopes to endure, it must tax itself directly for the religious education of its own children.

NORMAN BENTWICH.

Reviews of Books

Pharisaism. Its Aim and its Method. By R. Travers Herford, B.A. pp. 340. Williams and Norgate, 1912. Price 5s. net.

THIS is a remarkable book. While not written from the standpoint of orthodox Christianity, it yet views Rabbinical Judaism from the position of a Christian who regards Jesus "as the greatest man who ever lived, in regard to his spiritual nature," and more than many a Jewish critic has judged it, it views Pharisaism honestly, truly, and justly. Mr. Herford has sincerely tried to regard the Judaism of the Rabbis not from the point of view of its rivals, the Christianity of the Gospels or of Paul, but from the standpoint of the Rabbis themselves, and if we Jews cannot by the nature of things accept in its entirety his estimate of our vision of life, we must be more than grateful to him for having stated the traditional Jewish position, not merely with scrupulous fairness, but with such friendship, warmth, and sympathy as have never before been bestowed by a Christian writer on the religion of the men who have hitherto been regarded by Christianity as they were described by its founder—"Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! Serpents, offspring of vipers, how shall ye escape the judgment of hell?" (Matt. XXIII.)

In the interesting historical sketch which constitutes the opening chapter of his book, Mr. Herford traces the beginnings of Pharisaism to Ezra, the re-creator of Judaism after the upheaval of the Exile, for of all the aspects of Judaism at the time of Jesus Pharisaism alone was the result of direct organic development from Ezra's work, influenced hardly, if at all, by foreign elements. "When the Torah was forgotten," said Resh Lakish, "Ezra came up from Babylon and re-established it." True, Moses and the Prophets had taught Israel the will of God long ages before the time of Ezra, but what had hitherto been "mainly the collective expression of the nation's relation to God, must now be realised as the personal concern of each individual." Henceforth the Torah was accepted by every individual Jew as expressing the will of God revealed for his personal guidance in every relation of life. Guidance in every relation of life—this is the keynote of the Pharisaic idea of the Torah ; and Pharisaism is little else, as a system, than the putting into practice this conception of the Torah as the way of life which God wills Israel to follow. Mr. Herford follows in the main the Talmudic tradition which regards the Soferim, Scribes, the interpreters of the Torah, as the order which, perhaps organised by Ezra, perhaps only appearing as a necessary result of his policy, carried on down to the time of the Maccabees the tradition and the system inaugurated by him. The " Men of the Great Synagogue " he identifies with the earliest of the Soferim acting together as a council to decide religious questions, and the traditional maxims ascribed to them in the Ethics of the Fathers, " Be deliberate in judgment ; make many disciples ; make a hedge for the Torah," are explained as clearly defining for us the principles they followed as judges and expounders of the Torah, principles clearly seen by Mr. Herford to have been means of preserving to this day the Torah as Israel's peculiar treasure. The establishment of public worship—instruction, praise, and prayer—dissociated for the first time in the history of the civilised world from Temple or sacrifice, was a gift of the Soferim to mankind as well as to Israel for which they have never had their due meed of praise ; but Mr. Herford, with his habitual fairness, recognises it as one of the most important contributions made by Judaism to the spiritual heritage common to us all.

With the revolt of the Maccabees against Hellenism Pharisaism entered upon a new stage of its history. For a time those who fought for political as well as for religious freedom joined hands with those who fought for religion only—the Chassidim—against the common foe, but with the establishment of political independence under the Asmonean princes, the differences between the two parties were bound eventually to manifest themselves, and so on the one hand the governing families formed the Sadducees, the " worldly " party, while those who banded themselves together the more completely to realise in their lives the teaching of the Torah constituted the Pharisees. And it was the Pharisees, Mr. Herford reminds those who have failed to understand Pharisaism, who " kept the religion of the Torah as a living principle, capable of being adapted to fresh developments of religious life," while Sadduceeism, with its barren worship of the letter, disappeared altogether from existence when the fall of the State required the application of other than political principles for the revival and perpetuation of Judaism. It was in the schools of the Rabbis, at Jabneh, at Lydda, at Tiberias, in Palestine, at Sura, Nehardea, and Pumbeditha in Babylonia, that the religion of the Torah found a refuge when Israel as a political entity ceased to exist, and it is to the literary products of these schools, the Mishna, the Tosephta, the Talmud, and the Midrash, that Mr. Herford rightly looks, and not to "the writings of those who did not understand its ideals or share its hopes," in order to discover what Pharisaism, the religion of the Torah, really means.

In chapter II Mr. Herford explains more fully the "theory of Torah" underlying the Rabbinical conception of Judaism. While he accepts generally the critical view of the Pentateuch, this does not lead him into the foolish error, so commonly held, of imagining a conflict to have existed between the teaching of the Prophets and the teaching of the Torah, in the latter term, of course, including the Traditions of the Elders, or the Oral Law. On the contrary, he makes it perfectly clear that, "as the Pharisees and the later Rabbis did but carry out the method and the principle of Ezra, they stand in the same line with him as the legitimate successors and continuators of the prophets," and he quotes with evident approval the great claim made in the Talmud that when prophecy was taken from the Prophets it was given to the Rabbis, and from them it has never been taken (B.B., 12*a*). The purpose of Ezra, and later of the Rabbis, was the creation of a community which should put into practical application, and embody in its daily life, the teaching of Moses and the Prophets concerning God and Israel, and their purpose was achieved, in the only way it could have been achieved, by setting up the Jews as a closed corporation, distinct from the surrounding peoples, consecrated to the Divine service. Mr. Herford has the courage to say that the great spiritual treasure of the Prophets could never have become available for a later age had Ezra's policy of separation not been carried out. "Whether the policy of separation is to be for ever kept up is a question which the future must decide." We can well understand Mr. Herford making such a reservation, but no Jew who learns the lessons he himself points out here can have any hesitation in answering that question. As to what the life of the Torah meant to the Jew, no Christian has ever before understood its inwardness or done justice to its purpose with such sympathy and insight as Mr. Herford, and he treats as it deserves the current Christian (and, alas ! sometimes Jewish) theory that the exaltation of the Torah to the supreme place in the Jewish religion set that religion upon the down grade. To be sure, Mr. Herford thinks that nothing in the Pentateuch rises to the height of spiritual grandeur attained by the great Prophets. This is a very disputable proposition, and its refutation now would take us far afield; we would merely remind those who hold it that in any case the Prophets, too, form part of the spiritual heritage of Rabbinical Judaism, and any suggestion as to the Torah having displaced Prophecy is quite beside the point. Pharisaism at its best knows of no antithesis between the two; prophecy is a source of inspiration, while the Torah is a rule of life, a guide which, as Mr. Herford truly says, deepened the spiritual life of the ordinary Jew and conveyed to him the prophetic fervour, the joy and the inspiration of personal communion with God. For the Torah, as understood by the Rabbis, and this has always been the stumbling-block of those who fail to grasp the meaning of Pharisaism, was something far beyond mere precept; it was, in Mr. Herford's words, a complete Divine revelation, in the fullest and richest sense of the term, it was the written word and the unwritten word, but it was also the Divine word behind it. As further evidence of the spirituality of Pharisaism Mr. Herford points, on the one hand, to the Synagogue, the establishment of which was one of the firstfruits of Ezra's work, and on the other hand, to the Book of Psalms, which he regards as having been collected, and much of it composed, under the influence of religious ideas associated with Ezra and the Torah. The position of the book in Jewish worship is strong evidence that Pharisaism was not the unspiritual formalism that it is often supposed in practice to have been. By the very nature of the conception, the Pharisaic idea of the Torah could never have led to mere formalism, stagnation, or the stifling of spiritual life, for what did it mean but the constant application to the ever-varying conditions of life of the truth revealed to Israel by God, by the drawing forth, unfolding, and rendering explicit in the consciousness of men the Divine will, regarded as implicit in the words themselves of the written Torah? "Greater is one single word of the Torah than all the commandments contained in it." The conception gave a unity, a value, and a Divine sanction to life which we Jews can claim to have been attained by no other system under which men have ever lived.

The core of the problem of Pharisaism as it presents itself to Mr. Herford naturally lies in its relationship to Christianity, and here our author, breaking with all Christian tradition, speaks with no uncertain voice. He approaches the difficult and thorny question of the relations of Jesus and the Pharisees in the true scientific spirit of inquiry, endeavouring to apportion neither praise nor blame on one side or the other, but merely to discover why the differences which were expressed with such bitterness did exist and what they really signified. If the Talmud's assertion, "Jesus practised magic and led astray and deceived Israel," is felt by Mr. Herford to be unjust and untrue and hard to endure, he considers the verdict on the Pharisees expressed in the phrase, "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites," to be no less unjust and untrue and hard to endure; but he quite frankly admits that, in spite of much common ground, which he sets out at some length, in the end no understanding was possible between the religion of Jesus and the religion of the Pharisees, and like a wise man he is content to accept as final and inevitable differences of outlook that at bottom were irreconcilable. We cannot, of course, accept his relative estimate of those differences, but his statement of them, summed up, not quite accurately as we shall presently show, in the phrase, "What Christ is to the Christian, the Torah is to the Jew," is pre-eminently just, for the religion of the Pharisees was the religion of the Torah as interpreted by tradition, while the religion of Jesus was based entirely on his own personality: "He taught as one having authority, and not as their Scribes" (Matt. VII. 29). Perhaps the Rabbis saw, or felt, the inwardness of Jesus's claim to be even more impossible than Mr. Herford would admit. It was not merely that Jesus put forward on so many occasions unauthorised interpretations of the Law, it was not even that the logical effect of such interpretations could only lead to the abrogation of the Law; it was, we feel convinced, because Jesus spoke on his own authority and in his own name, such as no Prophet in Israel had ever dared to do before. The greatest of the Prophets had never claimed to be anything more than the mouthpiece, the instrument of the Divine voice, and here was a man who for the immemorial phrase "Thus saith the Lord . . ." substituted "Verily I tell you . . ." Such a claim struck at the very roots of Judaism, which had ever expressed its supreme ideal in terms of an abstract spiritual God, and which could not possibly come to terms with a conception of perfection realised in terms of a person or in terms of anything short of God Himself.

The conflict implicit in the mutual attitude of Pharisaism and Jesus became an accomplished and unalterable fact in the religion of Paul. In Mr. Herford's words Jesus had condemned

Pharisaism in practice, Paul condemned it in theory. For him, no grace was possible at all except it came through Christ, and the Torah with its call to what he regarded as an impossible obedience served only to increase the occasions of sin and plunge the sinner in a deeper despair. In truth, Paul's conversion completely blinded him to the real meaning of life under the Torah, which so far from being either a physical or a spiritual burden to the Pharisee was never regarded by him as anything else but affording limitless opportunities for serving God in love and in joy. In Mr. Herford's words the Torah held up to reproach in the Epistles of Paul is the very object of endless praise, of reverent wonder, almost adoring rapture in the literature of the Pharisees. Paul forgot, and Christians ever since have forgotten, and liberal Jews, too, have forgotten, what is so finely insisted upon by Mr. Herford, that Rabbinical Judaism, so far from consisting merely of precept upon precept, "comprised no less the knowledge of God Himself, of His providence and righteousness and Fatherly love, of the way of communion with Him, the assurance of forgiveness to the penitent, the means of grace and the hope of glory." We come back to the fundamental distinction between Judaism and Christianity; the former finds in the Torah, which in its widest sense is the complete revelation of God to Israel, the opportunity to live the highest, holiest life, a life consecrated altogether to the fulfilment of the Divine purpose, and the inspiration enabling him to live that life comes direct from the Divine influence upon the human soul; the latter, unable to abstract its ideal, projects it into a living personality, and finds in the contemplation of a human life its inspiration and its call to righteousness. To Judaism it is immaterial whether that personality be regarded as Divine, or semi-Divine, or merely perfect humanity, the fundamental difference in outlook will always remain, and if, dazzled by visions of universality, we affect to ignore it, we do so at our peril. Wisdom is on the side of those who, like Mr. Herford, while clearly recognising, have the courage to be content with defining, differences which cannot be bridged over.

In his concluding chapters Mr. Herford discusses with sympathy and insight some aspects of Pharisaic theology as found particularly in the Haggadah, "the Pharisaic comment upon life," and he contrasts the character and tone of the religious discourse of the Pharisee with that of the New Testament writers. He is obviously impressed by the fact that, within certain limits, "uniformity of religious belief was never required by the

Pharisees," and to this he rightly ascribes the absence of a system of doctrinal theology in Rabbinical literature, a fact which accounts for much of the misunderstanding which Pharisaism has had to suffer at the hands of Christian theologians. The Rabbis adjusted their beliefs to the Torah, and if what they found there was not always mutually consistent, what mattered it? "The words of each are the words of the living God." The Haggadists well knew that they were not setting forth the plain meaning of Holy Writ, but they saw mirrored in Scripture, in Divine revelation, the truth, holiness, justice, beauty, goodness, love, which they read in their own experience and traced in Nature, history, and man. Mr. Herford might well have added that this absence of a formal, crystallised system of belief in Rabbinism has been a most potent factor in the preservation of a healthy Judaism, which, with few exceptions, has been singularly free from the obscurantism and superstition that stained so darkly medieval Christianity. The points of Pharisaic theology which are particularly dwelt upon and brought into clear relief are the Rabbinic conception of God—His nearness to man, "near in every kind of nearness" (J. Ber. 13*a*), without any mediation whatsoever—and the doctrine of Retribution, and in both cases Mr. Herford shows how Christian writers such as Weber have failed to understand the Pharisaic position. So far from the Pharisee having been actuated by low motives of self-interest in his performance of the things commanded him, Mr. Herford points out that when he spoke of reward and punishment, he meant to indicate his belief that in some way it went well with the man who did good and ill with the man who did wrong, just as Jesus meant when he said, "Great is your reward in heaven"; but the real recompense he looked for was joy of service and the blessing of God, "the reward of one Mitzvah is the opportunity to fulfil another." For ourselves we would go even further and say that whereas Christianity, even when expressed at its highest, emphasises the idea that the end of righteousness is the individual soul's salvation, Judaism at its greatest bids serve the Master only for love of Him and in the expectation of the day when all mankind will unite together in righteousness and the earth be full of the knowledge of God.

Mr. Herford hardly dwells with sufficient emphasis on the Rabbinic idea of the personal responsibility of the individual, although around this question centres another of the fundamental differences between Judaism and Christianity. He admits that "even the appeal to the merits of the Fathers was discouraged by many Pharisees on the ground that it tended to shift responsibility for a man's own conduct on to some one else," but did not one great line of cleavage between Paul and the Pharisees lie in Paul's doctrine that merit *of itself* availed nothing except through faith in Christ?

In the last chapter in his book, *Pharisaism as a Spiritual Religion*, Mr. Herford, chiefly by an examination of the devotional literature available, endeavours to set forth what the Pharisee "felt like" as a religious and moral being, and how his conception of the Torah influenced the formation of his religious character, both as regards its excellencies and its deficiencies. He regards Psalm CXIX. with its insistence on the Divine excellence of the Torah, the goodness of God in revealing it, and the gratitude and joy felt by those who live by its precepts, as affording the best evidence of what was possible under the religion of the Torah, by way of piety and devotion; and then he goes on to quote from the liturgy such prayers as in his opinion fall within the Talmudic period. He appears to feel some surprise that the list is so meagre, and while he characterises those which he quotes as "sincere, simple, and earnest," he thinks there is nothing very sublime about them, none of the eloquence of fervent rapture, "the beauty of holiness, the fervour of faith, the personal consecration which marks the New Testament." Now assuming for the moment this to be true, the obvious explanation of it is that the Psalms filled so great a place in the devotional literature of the Synagogue that the Rabbis probably felt it to be unnecessary, if not presumptuous, to compose prayers that might take the place of those supreme expressions of religious fervour. Is it fair, too, to compare the spiritual utterances of what claimed to be a new dispensation, "the result of the quickening power of a newly awakened devotion," with the expression of religious ideas which long ages before had been enshrined in a setting that reached the summit of literary perfection? If any such comparison has to be made at all, it surely must be made between the religious expression of the New Testament and that of the Old, and not between that of the Rabbis, to whom a new revelation was inconceivable, and the apostles of a new religious experience. But in truth the comparison may be made, and the Rabbis will have no reason at all to be ashamed of the form in which their spiritual life found expression.

The exact age in which such portions of the liturgy as, for example, the blessings of the Shema or the Additional

Amidah for the New Year, assumed precisely their present form is no doubt uncertain, but that they are not later than Gaonic times is without question, and they certainly must be classed as Rabbinical compositions. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the intense religious feeling and the quite remarkable purity and beauty of diction of these prayers have not been surpassed in any form of liturgy. If things so utterly different can be compared at all, then we claim that passages like אהבה רבה or אהבת עולם breathe a spirit of rapturous love and devotion to God that are certainly not eclipsed by anything in the New Testament.

"With abundant love hast thou loved us, O Lord our God! With great and overflowing pity hast thou had compassion over us. Our Father, our King, for the sake of our fathers who trusted in thee, and to whom thou didst teach statutes of life, do thou be gracious unto us and instruct us too . . . and make light our eyes with thy Law, and let our hearts cleave to thy commandments, and unite us together to love and to fear thy Name that we never may be put to shame, for in thy holy, great, and awful Name we trust—we will be glad and rejoice in thy salvation." Is there, we may ask, a "certain flatness" about these words, eloquent and moving even in translation, Rabbinical though they be?

Is there, again, anything in the New Testament which can be said to exceed in nobility of form or content this familiar passage from the Prayer Book, expressive of the larger hope of the Jewish people, a passage having every claim to be called Rabbinic?

"Therefore we long for thee, O Lord our God! to behold speedily the glory of thy strength, when thou wilt remove all abominations from the earth and when the idols will be utterly cut off, when the world will be patterned on the kingdom of the Almighty and all flesh will call upon thy Name, when thou wilt turn towards thee all the wicked of the earth; when all that dwell in the world will understand and know that to thee every knee should bend, by thee should swear every tongue. Before thee, O Lord our God, may they bend and prostrate themselves, and to the honour of thy Name may they give glory, all accepting the yoke of thy kingdom so that thou mayest reign over them for ever and ever. For the kingdom is thine and for eternity wilt thou rule in glory, as it is written in thy Law, 'The Lord will reign for ever and ever.'"

Will Mr. Herford tell us that here, too, there is "a want of the sublime, and still more of the beauty of holiness, the fervour of faith ? " Pharisaism may have the defects of its qualities, that may be readily conceded. That its outlook is in many respects diametrically opposed to that of Christianity is a fact that none can deny. Mr. Herford says the watchword of the New Testament is Love, the watchword of the Talmud is Wisdom, and we accept the distinction ; but that Rabbinic Judaism at its highest has anything to learn in the way of spirituality from the New Testament is a claim which we must deny with all the emphasis at our command.

The universalistic aspirations expressed in some of the most solemn portions of the liturgy and illustrated by the passage from Olenu, just quoted, prove Mr. Herford to be wrong when he says that " universalism only flitted fitfully before the gaze of the Pharisee." Nor can we agree that the Pharisee was unable to see how salvation could come to the Gentile except through the Torah. One might retort that the universalism at least of Pauline Christianity was valueless, inasmuch as there could be no salvation except through Christ. The Rabbis, on the contrary, taught that " the righteous of all nations have a share in the world to come," a promise of future bliss dependent only on the moral life and by no means to be gained only by way of the Torah.

The discovery that Pharisaism was not, after all, merely a system of legalism, but was—and is—a living faith that inspired and sanctified, may not seem very astonishing to the Jew who knows from his own spiritual experience how bitterly unjust is the accepted Christian view of the religion of the Torah. But to many a Christian brought up only on the New Testament, and to many a Jew, too, who has viewed his ancestral religion through the none too friendly eyes of the modern theologian, this little book of Mr. Herford's will come as a complete revelation, and it would ill become us not to express our deep gratitude to him for his generous vindication of the ways of men not walking in his way nor sharing in all his beliefs, but yet recognised by him as " Saints and Sages who served God faithfully," " as companions and friends of many a year " drawn to him across the ages by the bonds of loving sympathy and understanding.

F. S. SPIERS.

The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. Translated and Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by R. M. Charles, D.LITT., D.D., Fellow of Merton College, F.B.A. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1912. 10s. 6d. net.

DR. CHARLES has written, not so much a new edition of his Enoch as a new book. He is the acknowledged master in England of the Jewish Pseudepigraphic literature, and in the twenty years since he first published a translation of the Ethiopic text of Enoch he has increased his own as well as the world's knowledge of Apocalyptic. He states himself that, "alike in the translation and the commentary, the present work forms a vast advance on its predecessor." In the course of his labours on the text he discovers that a large portion of Enoch reveals a poetical structure, and in the light of this discovery he has been able to make many happy emendations and to throw out many obvious interpolations. The annotation is remarkably full, and each section of the book is prefaced with a critical and exegetical introduction. At the end of the commentary we have an appendix containing the Greek fragments of Enoch.

But while the new edition exhibits thorough learning and immense industry, it does not show any change in the author's somewhat antiquated attitude towards Judaism. He expresses his deep regret that Jewish scholars are still so backward in recognising the value of the Apocalyptic literature for their own history, though, by the way, he has nothing to say of Mr. Gerald Friedlander's studies in this direction. "Apocalyptic," he continues, "is the true child of Prophecy, and became its true representative to the Jews from the unhappy moment that the Law won an absolute autocracy in Judaism and made the utterance of God-sent prophetic men impossible except through the medium of Pseudepigraphs." He complains that, as a whole, Orthodox Judaism still confesses and still champions the one-sided Judaism which came into being after the fall of Jerusalem, a Judaism lopped in the main of its spiritual and prophetic side and given over, all but wholly, to a legalistic conception of religion. We presume that Dr. Charles had not read Mr. Herford's study of Pharisaism when he wrote thus, though the book was already published. Had he done so he could hardly have repeated so confidently these trite denunciations of Pharisaic Judaism which come nimbly from those who do not study its literature at first hand. To speak of the absolute autocracy of the Law and of the lopping off of the spiritual and prophetic side of the religion is not possible to one who has a knowledge of Rabbinic theology and the treasure of the Agadah. It is Pharisaism rather than Apocalyptic which is the true child of prophecy, and to place the composers of Enoch or of the Testaments of the Patriarchs or even of the Fourth Esdras on the same level as the Prophets of the Old Testament is surely extravagant. Apocalyptic is historically and logically rather the bastard offspring of Jewish prophecy and Hellenistic eschatology, and not even the fine translation of Dr. Charles can make of the visions of Enoch poetry and exhortations worthy to stand by the side of the books in the Canon. Nevertheless, as an important development of the Jewish spirit at the period of its greatest fruitfulness the Pseudepigraphic books are of extreme interest, and the devoted labours of Dr. Charles have made its study easy. We hope that if he is called on to issue a third edition of the Book of Enoch, he may supplement his enthusiasm for his own subject with a fairer and more sympathetic appreciation of the other aspects of Jewish teaching.

NOTE.—In Dr. Brann's article in the last number of the *Jewish Review* the passage on page 230 should have read as follows :—

The local and provincial authorities found it difficult to carry such legislation into effect. Still in 1816, to meet a special difficulty, the Rabbi of Glogau, Rabbi Abraham Tiktih, was appointed to the government by special decree "Ober-Landes-Rabbiner in Breslau" in the confident anticipation, that he would act as an enlightened man, and by precept lead his congregations according to the principles of their religion.

THE

JEWISH REVIEW

DITED BY
ORMAN BENTWICH
AND
DR JOSEPH HOCHMA

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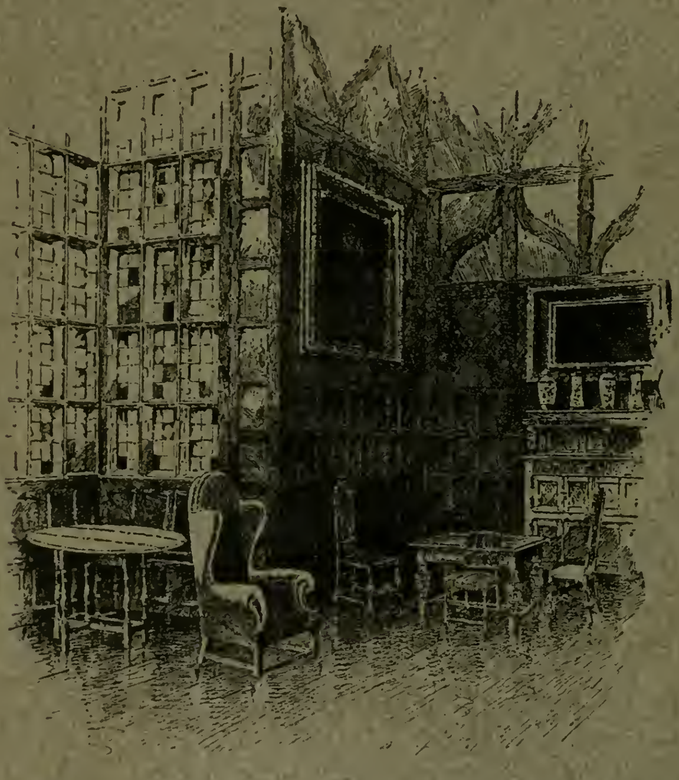

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The Jewish Review

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EDITORIAL NOTES

An International Jewish Organisation

THE existence of Jewish solidarity is a widely assumed hypothesis. The frequency with which the sympathy of Jews is aroused for their brethren who suffer for their faith, lends colour to the hypothesis; but however effective the solidarity of Jews may be, when their brethren are in need of sympathy, it is not effective in preventing the suffering which calls forth their sympathy. The international solidarity of the Jews is no more real—it is far less so—than is that of the Federations of Labour. Just as the hope proved futile that the working-men of France and Germany would prevent the Franco-German War, so does the belief prove groundless that Jewish solidarity and the universal ideals of Judaism would inspire the Jews with the courage to be called cowards and to refuse to fight for their own country against another country in which their fellow-Jews are domiciled. The Balkan War has shown that Jews are no exception to the rule that the appeal of patriotism sets bounds to the possibilities of the doctrine of the brotherhood of man—that for better or worse, every Jew is a patriot in the land where is his home. What there is of international solidarity among the Jews does not survive the call of local patriotism. However readily it may answer an appeal to Jewish sympathies, it has repeatedly failed to respond to an appeal for united action—even towards common defence against local persecutions. The

Alliance Israélite has dropped the attribute *Universelle*, and proposals to establish an international Jewish council have been negatived repeatedly. It is open to question whether an International Jewish Organisation, which would carry out the duty of concerting Jewish organisations in all countries for constant common action towards securing freedom of opportunity to all Jews everywhere, would not be doing much towards the realisation of those great religious ideals for which, now, we do little beyond the payment of verbal homage. Our peculiar position in the world gives us the right thus to serve actively the ideal of the brotherhood of nations. If the sporadic expressions of sympathy between Jews of different countries give rise to a suspicion of Jewish solidarity, their organisation for continuous activity might confirm the suspicion. More than a suspicion it could never be. Jewish solidarity cannot and never could withstand the call of local patriotism. Judaism is a national religion, with universally valid ideals. The Jews are a religious nationality, proving religion to be the heart of nationality. An International Jewish Organisation never could be anti-national. It would help to uplift the conception of nationalism and to purify the appeal of patriotism, by proving what is possible to a nation which has no national interest apart from human rights, and which is organised to achieve its national ends without appeal to force. If such an organisation would run the risk of promoting anti-Semitism, it would gain the certainty of presenting to the world the reality of spiritual nationality.

The Community and the State

The Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce is one which deals with a subject on the borderland between Church and State. The Christian Church was, at one time, the sole authority in Europe by which marriages could be legally annulled. The Reformation and the growth of Nationality combined to transfer this authority from the Church to the State, and for long it was only by an appeal to Parliament that divorce could be obtained; until consequent evils compelled an increase of facilities by enlisting the service of the law courts. The passage of Time has established the necessity of further facilities and even suggested the need for an extension of the grounds of divorce. Church doctrine rules very largely in this sphere, in which religion and politics are concerned; but politics tends to draw the law of marriage and divorce towards the rule of expedience, and thus nearer the Jewish conception of marriage as a civil contract, which can be converted into a sacrament only by the parties to the marriage themselves. Jewish law being, at present, less stringent than the law of the land in regard to divorce, Jews can surrender the privileges of their own law and conform to the law of the land, without any betrayal of conscience. It cannot but be regretted, however, that Jewish representatives asked for the penalising of Jewish practice, before a Commission which was concerned with the lessening of the stringency of the law of the land. The occasion surely demanded that Jewish teaching be upheld. Foreign intervention has always proved baneful, and Jews have ever reaped sorrow when they sought to solve their own difficulties by summoning external pressure. The evil which has been wrought is the consequence of insufficient sympathy and lack of communication between the members of the community and the communal representatives. It is, however, only one instance of the mischief wrought by the trend of thought which is fostered in a Jewish community whose religious organisation is secured by State legislation. It purchases security at the price of liberty. If we cannot remedy what harm has been done, we may yet recognise the cause; and if we cannot now altogether free our religious institutions from State control, we should, none the less, recognise that the example of those who secured the United Synagogue by an Act of Parliament is not a desirable precedent.

The Chief Rabbinate

The *Jewish Review* has constantly and consistently pleaded for a postponement of the appointment of a Chief Rabbi, pending the consideration of the communal organisation of Anglo-Jewry. Those who pleaded for such a postponement at the Conference on the Chief Rabbinate, were faced with the declaration that the United Synagogue Act required the appointment of a Chief Rabbi. What has happened since the Conference emphasises the desirability of the postponement. The affairs of the community have shown themselves patient of such postponement; but the community has shown itself impatient of the procedure of the Selection Committee, which was entrusted with the selection of candidates for the office of Chief Rabbi. The Anglo-Jewish ministry has been unjustifiably ignored, as if the Chief Rabbi of the community were not to be, primarily, the Chief of its ministry. No Rabbi of commanding importance has been presented to the community, and nowhere is there a Rabbi who exercises the authority which Anglo-Jewry would entrust to its Chief Rabbi. The prestige of the community has not suffered through the absence of a Chief Rabbi. The vigour of the community has benefited by the increased sense of responsibility which the absence has fostered, and before the appointment of a Chief Rabbi, we should secure such rearrangement of communal organisation and congregational responsibility as will enable us to maintain this vigour, and teach us to look to ourselves for our security. It were better to change the Act of Parliament, than to shelter behind it against the demands of changing circumstance.

Religion and Politics

It is at least open to question whether any political concern should be excluded from the influence of religious instruction. Religion seeks to view all things *sub specie æternitatis.* Politics seeks to lend permanence to what is expedient, and therefore stands to benefit by religious guidance. Some political questions are of passing interest; yet, in so far as they affect large numbers of people, they have enduring consequences in furthering or retarding the progress of humanity. There is an eternal significance in all things present. It was the task of the Hebrew prophets to reveal the Eternal in the midst of the present. That is now the object of religious instruction; and this being so, religion cannot disregard the present. The weakness of the religion of the Greeks was its aloofness from the actual affairs of Life. The religion of the prophets survived because of its hold on Life. Though religion cannot concern itself with mere expedience, it may not ignore the politics which lends permanence to expedience. Religion, no doubt, derives much of its influence from its other-worldliness; but it is bound to bring that influence to bear in the world. It can hardly be open to question that the preacher should strive to reveal the Eternal in the midst of the present, and to win recognition for the religious aspect of political issues.

A Jewish Renascence

Jewish History—the history of the Jewish People and their culture—points to many periods as eras of Jewish Renascence. It possesses none so distinguished from others as to be entitled to be called " The Renaissance." In this, as in many other respects, Hebraism—the civilisation produced by the Hebrew spirit—is to be differentiated from the other civilisations which have affected the life of the Western World. Not that Jewry has been without its cycles of lean years, but that during the seasons of comparative famine the storehouses of plenty, filled by the wisdom of prudent predecessors, have provided the sustenance with which the Jewish spiritual frame could be nourished, to tide well over the time until the more bounteous harvests should again be garnered.

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that when one speaks of the Dark Ages of Jewry, a terminology is borrowed from the parlance of general European History, which is inaccurately applied to the Jewish people. For the darkness of the Dark Ages among non-Jews in Europe lies in the abysmal ignorance and the depth of semi-barbarism which represented the general level of " civilisation " at the time: and in so far as they were dark ages for the Jews, they were dark objectively. They were dark subjectively only inasmuch as they were plunged by physical or economic force into the surrounding darkness of the surrounding peoples—a darkness which in the case of the Jewish people was more acutely realised, because they were the people of Light. The European Renaissance—that is the Revival of Classical Learning and the growth of Humanism—was as the glare of sunlight to those non-Jews who, in the mass, had not even evinced a common tendency to grope. But in the intervals of freedom from the more urgent forms of oppression, it would be anomalous to talk of the Dark Ages of Jewry. There were Dark Ages for Jewry—but these were not necessarily Dark Ages of Jewry.

It is the Occidental Jew, accustomed to varying degrees of civic equality, who views with dread the social condition of the Jew in the Dark Ages; yet it is not impossible to believe that, during one of the occasional periods of freedom from dire persecution, the Jew of the Dark Ages would not have been able to envisage himself as an object of compassion at all. For he possessed something which enabled him, not to *rise* superior to his outward non-Jewish surroundings, but to *realise* his superiority to the accidents of his alien environment. It was his Hebraism—his Jewish spirit—his pride of the past, and his glory in the future. The problem of equality represented to him a process different from the modern Jewish Occidental's outlook. To him it might have meant an ascent in point of physical security, but a descent in spirit, if it would have involved the surrender of his Jewish consciousness, and the dereliction of his Hebraism. And it was this preservation, intact, of the Jewish spirit, which enabled him, in the arid years of comparative unproductivity, to maintain a level of civilisation, which made the plenteous seasons of his culture a series of links in a chain of life, not one of which could maintain an exclusive right to be termed the Renaissance. For each link was a Renascence: but the motive force of each Renascence varied; and while in the so-called Middle Ages each Jewish period of activity was welcome, not merely because it bridged the intervals, but because it added to the heritage of Jewry (and in so far as mankind in general is willing to admit it, to Humanity also), the Jewish Renascence of our day is a vital happening, an essential of our very existence, and one of those miraculous appearances which the weaving of the scheme of things has made ready at the moment needed.

There are our Easterns of Europe, whose despair is that they see no future; there are our Westerns, whose despair is that they have no future to see. The Despair of the Eastern is that he has everything of which to despair; the Despair of the Western is that he has nothing. The one is oppressed by a reality—the other by a vacuity. The one is faced with the crushing of his Jewish spirit—the other is fast losing any Jewish spirit to crush. Not since the period of Hellenist infiltration and the assimilative activity of the sectarian Jewries in Israel in those days, have our people been so seriously besieged by the tactics of undermining forces. And just as in those days, so in the present, the time spirit demands that the destructive elements within and without can only be successfully met by the assertive expression of a revived Jewish consciousness. And the weapons we chose must bear some relationship to the weapons which are to be met.

The first step to the self-preservation of a people is the consciousness that it is a people worthy of being preserved. The recognition of this consciousness can only be realised by the abandonment of excessive concentration on the present, and the insistence upon the cherishing of hope for the future. But this cherishing of hope for the future can come with living force only if tradition is linked with the present. Tradition and aspiration become united in the realising of a conscious participation in the continuous process. And this instant necessity of the preservation of the Jewish consciousness becomes more apparent when, as in no other age, the superficial distinctions between the various nations of the world would tend to become more and more obliterated—and the sharp divergence of their fundamental civilisations is obscured. It is one of the most remarkable phenomena of the History of Philosophy that Socrates has been regarded by two sharply sundered schools as the source of their inspiration. The Cynics and the Cyrenaics found unity only in claiming kinship to the philosopher of whose teaching each professed to be the exponent. In more modern times, and among our own people, a similar incident is to be found in the history of the disciples of Moses Mendelssohn. The traditionalist and the non-traditionalist, each claims him as an expositor of his views ; and perhaps the non-traditionalist, through his greater insistence on Mendelssohn as the source of his outlook, has secured a more general concentration of attention on his aspect of the great Jewish teacher's work—with not altogether fair results towards an unbiased endeavour to estimate Mendelssohn. But there is a further dualism which has not, as yet, attracted the notice which its importance warrants.

Mendelssohn was closely associated with the Haskalah movement, with which the revival of the Hebrew language was indissolubly bound up. It may be urged that this revival was a means to a non-Hebraic end, and in this respect differed from the Hebrew Renascence in Eastern Europe and Palestine. It may be contended that it was a medium for the expression of current thought and the spread of general culture, as an instrument towards that Westernisation which was regarded as the necessary preliminary to civic recognition and civic equality. When making all allowance for these contentions, the superiority of the position of Mendelssohn's circle over the assimilative company of anti-Hebraic Sectarians who claim him as their chief is very obvious. For if in those days a Hebraic medium was, not only not subversive of civic equality, but conducive thereto, surely in those countries where civic equality and recognition is the rule, the cultivation of the Hebrew language as a living expression of the realities of our thought and actions, and as the linguistic mirror of the Jewish consciousness (a Jewish Renascence with Hebrew as its basis), would not deprive us of rights already won. And it is amazingly quixotic that our people, dwelling now in lands where they have no rights but merely privileges, have the freedom of spirit to express their cultural individuality in their ancestral language; but those who have won rights and need no privileges have lost their language. Those who live in dread have the courage to assert their Jewish individuality; those who live without any dread have made a dread of their own—a dread of their own Jewish consciousness. For whatever the objective of the Maskilim may have been, they chose the instrument of Jewish unity, the link of language, the touchstone by which the glorious heritage of Israel has been wondrously preserved. In this they were following the lead of the Inaugurator of the Hebrew Revival, Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, the Hebraist of Padua (born 1707). It is not unworthy of note that thus the Renascence of Hebrew found its inauguration in Italy, the land of "The Renaissance."

If they, then, thought to expand the area of Jewish thought and action, they, none the less, united the domain, by making all owe allegiance to the sovereignty of Hebrew. They spread not to sever, but to weld; not to scatter, but to gather. The Me'assefim were, as their name implied (מאסף), "gatherers," "collectors," and it was in the preface to the *Bi'ur* (ביאור)—the commentary with which Mendelssohn is as much associated as the translation upon which his more assimilative disciples delight to insist—that he dealt at length with the range and power of the Hebrew language, its poetic capacity and the plasticity of its expressiveness. The efforts of Isaac Abraham Euchel and Mendel Bresslau for the revival of the Hebrew language, united in a co-operative endeavour to found a new organisation devoted to the culture of Hebrew (Chebrat Doreshe Le'shon E'ver), which resulted in the publication of *Ha-Meassef*—the first Hebrew literary monthly (1783). With this movement Mendelssohn and the Hebrew poet Naphtali Hartwig Wessely were closely identified.

It is, as I have already suggested, one of the historical anomalies (and yet one of the historical analogies) that

Mendelssohn—whose writings disclose a traditional consideration of the Jewish point of view, and whose actions show him to have been a Hebrew of the Hebrews, a Hebraist, and a Hebraiser—should have been claimed with more sounding insistence by a separatist school in Jewry; and although descent from his school was equally traced by traditionalists, the bifurcation has been recorded with the benefit in favour of the assimilative line. More remarkable than anything is the fact that the title and contents of his book *Jerusalem* gives but little support to those who most loudly acclaim him, whose disciples they profess themselves to be.

It is easy to misinterpret the general trend of the Haskalah movement in all its varying manifestations; but it is the least accurate to allow it, as viewed from the period of its subsequent development, to be identified with the sectarian form of assimilation which flourished during the Mid-Victorian era in England. It may have represented an enlargement of the area of the Jewish sphere of thought and action, but if it was an enlargement, it was an enlargement in the Hebrew spirit. It was not a movement which suggested that Hebrew was incapable as a medium for the expression of Human Thought. It was a movement which proclaimed that Hebrew was capable as a medium for the expression of Human Thought. Its object was the widening of culture through Hebrew, not away from Hebrew. It aimed rather at the Hebraisation of Modernity than the modernisation of Hebraism—although the process may have involved the linguistic adaptation of Hebrew to modern necessities of expression. Far asunder therefore was the Haskalah from the amorphous conventicleism, which has arrogated to itself the patent rights of "enlightenment."

The development of modern thought through the medium of Hebrew was viewed, in Eastern Europe, without prejudice to Hebraism or Modernity. The result, to-day, in the spiritual Nationalisation of Jewish thought, has afforded proof of the fact that Hebraism and Modernity have combined to the detriment of neither, but conduced to the appreciation of the perennial freshness of the Jewish consciousness and the Hebrew spirit. The writings of Perl, Krochmal, and Erter in the nearer European East, and, further afield, of Isaac Bar Levinsohn, Smolenskin, and Achad Ha'am (to take the names of those among perhaps the least unfamiliar to Western readers), are characteristic of those Maskilim whose work for the Haskalah brought the development of modern thought within the allegiance of Hebraism, and completed the process of Hebraic naturalisation. Levinsohn, in his *Te'udah be'Yisrael*, sought, with convincing reasoning, to establish the compatibility of tradition and progress. His *Bet Yehudah* is another work which, in its lofty spiritual outlook, should temper the assumptions of modern Occidentals who believe that width of view is their own especial property.

The practicality of our Hebraists is too frequent a phenomenon to be dismissed as a coincidence. Levinsohn was a pioneer of agricultural colonisation, and this illustration is but one of many which show that the Hebrew spirit is life and living to those who come within its influence. Smolenskin and Achad Ha'am may be regarded as the spiritual nationalisers of modern Hebrew culture. They have been rather the exponents of the cause of Zionism than its effects. Smolenskin predeceased the coining of the word Zionism, although not the idea, which, planted deep in the hearts of Jewry, is of immemorial age. Achad Ha'am flourished before it was struck in the mint of Jewry and has written much since the death of Theodor Herzl—the genius of Jewish organisation. Achad Ha'am has lived to realise the ascendency of the leading motives of his Jewish philosophy, even if, in detail or in exposition, his adherents and disciples may occasionally diverge. When, in 1886, Nathan Birnbaum coined the term Zionism, he invented a new word to express an old idea.

There were two voices which had for long spoken to Jewry. The one voice addressed itself to the Jewish body, the other to the Jewish spirit. The one thought that peace for the Jewish body would bring peace to the Jewish spirit—the other that peace to the Jewish spirit would bring peace to the Jewish body. The one thought of Palestine first, but if not Palestine then somewhere. The other thought of Palestine first, and if not Palestine nowhere. Both were Jewish in spirit, in contradistinction to those who thought of anywhere first and Palestine never. Those who sought to save the Jewish body outside Palestine are not blameworthy because they essayed to save the Jewish body; they are open to criticism, not because they essayed, but because they did not succeed in saving the Jewish body. The saving of the Jewish body and of the Jewish spirit are not one process—at least the Jewish body may be saved in one way, without the saving of the Jewish spirit. But the Jewish spirit can be saved alone by the living waters, to which history has pointed as the necessary source of her natural revival.

The inspiration of Palestine alone can save Jewry—for the saving of Jewry lies in the saving of the Jewish spirit. From Palestine alone can the Jewish consciousness derive its life from the Hebraic spirit. Leo Pinsker, whose efforts were directed to the solution of the problems of Jewry, after seeking first for the safety of the Jewish people, devoted his endeavours finally to the saving of the Jewish spirit. After looking to all points of the compass, he eventually turned Eastward. For all movements based on the motive of material alleviation are impelled by necessity, and necessity can only allow for the escape of the few and at a slower pace than even the material necessities demand. This does not render undesirable such efforts, but they can never replace the movement based on deeper foundations. For if a fraction alone can escape to a

Nacht-Asyl where there is no historical source for the regeneration of the Jewish spirit, if even such a fraction alone could settle in the ancient home of Israel, then not only would the settlement allow of material alleviation and the actuality of spiritual harmony for the fraction, but it would also possess the potentiality for the renascence of the Jewish consciousness for all Jewry.

That these views are supported by the testimony of facts can easily be pointed out. The reconstruction of Jewish education is being carried out in Palestine. "Every variety of Jewish school is to be seen in Palestine" ("Jewish Schools in Palestine"—Article by Norman Bentwich—*Jewish Review*, Sept., 1911). The Bezalel Arts and Crafts School in Jerusalem, and the Conservatoire of Music at Jaffa are practical instances of the Jewish consciousness realising itself when inspired by the surroundings of the Hebrew environment of the Land of Israel. The Teachers' College in Jerusalem, the various schools of recent foundation in Jaffa, all afford illustrations of the Renascence which has taken place in Palestine and has radiated its influence throughout Jewry. The characteristic, which is chiefly to be observed in these centres of the renewal of Jewish life, is that the language of all is Hebrew. The teaching is in Hebrew, Hebrew is the language for the natural expression of their ideas, and Hebrew is their vernacular. The Haifa Polytechnic is another organisation which illustrates the progressive movement of the Renascence bound up with the spirit of tradition. It seeks to give to Palestine the men and the methods of modern science, and to bring forth the fruits of their application for the renewal of the old life. The coping-stone, the foundation of a Jewish University in Palestine, is yet an aspiration, but the basis is there, already to be seen in the spirit from which a "Bezalel" has sprung.

It is the price which we have to pay for the sectarianisation of the Jewish people into the surrounding type of congregationalism, that, at all events in England, there exists a sanctimoniously unæsthetic depreciation of the sense of joy and happiness and comeliness, which has led too many to believe it appropriate to determine their outlook by the un-Jewish angularities of the environing quasi-asceticism, a tendency which is not less invasive because of a certain endeavour to trace the genealogy of its ideas to Hebraic sources. Such masquerading is not likely to obscure those who know their charts, but Jewish cartography is not a particularly omnipresent feature of the education of Jewish people in England. Thus it is that the very idea of the Jewish renascence of life—which is the renascence of Jewish life—is not easily grasped by the typical products of de-Hebraisation, who are the representatives of a former generation of Jewish separatism. It is, therefore, through the movements which appeal to sense perception that the renascence of Jewish intellectuality is most likely to be realised, among those who have departmentalised their Jewry into a sect. To be brought back to Jewish Spirituality they must be brought back to Jewish humanity. The road to the Spirituality of Hebraism is through the gateway of Humanism. This is not the secularisation of life. It is the Hebraisation of life. For, if we separate the aspects of life on the principle of current sectarianism, we have abandoned Jewish and adopted un-Hebraic methods of thought and outlook; and the futility of much of the occidentalism of the Jewish people is that it has endeavoured to express the ideas of one culture in the terms of another—the insoluble problem which generations of translators of the world's epics have found beyond their powers.

Our Occidental translators of Jewish ideas have found for themselves an easy solution, however, when confronted with an insuperable difficulty. They do not amend their translation—they vary or disregard the original. It is a simple solution—the solution by dissolution. But the reaction has come in the Renascence; and back to the Jewish consciousness through Jewish Humanity is a natural process. And so it is that such lines as Achad Ha'am has written must find their way eventually into the most distant places. "Whoever knows by experience, how dear Palestine is to every Jew, how his heart swells—sometimes even to the point of joyful tears—when he reads or hears of the revival of the Hebrew language among the children in Palestine; or of the success of the Hebrew colonies there—whoever knows this cannot deny that the actual work of building up a centre in Palestine, even before it approached its goal, could have had a wonderful influence on the spirit of the people in the lands of our exile. The truth is that, even now, the majority of our people cherish their national inheritance and desire its eternal preservation; but the servitude of Galuth (material and spiritual) cramps the heart and renders the national will and feeling incapable of becoming an active working force. And yet if our work in Palestine had been such as to show clearly that there is really a prospect and a fair hope for the life of our spirit and our national possessions in the land of their birth: if the people had seen the foundations of the building laid by expert hands, one complete stone upon another, though the stones had been but small: then the people would have sought and found here a new source of life for its dormant national feelings—and the people's will would have gained strength *to protect its spiritual possessions in exile*" ("Palestine as a Centre of Jewish Culture"—Achad Ha'am—from an article in *Ha'Omer*, translated by Leon Simon: *Jewish Literary Annual*, 1907).

David Yellin has written: "The cultural movement in Palestine is bound up with the national movement. Its ultimate object is to train up a generation rich in scientific and general knowledge with the condition that its progress and its inspiration should rest upon a national basis. All the possessions of the people ought to be precious to it: its history, Hebrew as a living language, the knowledge of Hebrew literature and of the land of Israel in its aspect of a national territory. . . . Palestine has become in these latter days an influence upon all the lands of the exile." Mr. Yellin proceeds to point out that the Hebraic revival systematically commenced with the household, then the school—and the influence radiated from Palestine was productive outside the land of Israel, and reproduced its results again in Palestine. The formation of Teachers' Unions, periodicals for pupils of the schools, and text-books in Jewish History in Hebrew, and Palestinian handbooks, all came in quick succession. A Hebrew publishing organisation (*Kohelet*) was founded and several societies (*Ibriah*) were founded in the larger centres. The cultivation of Hebrew Dramatic Art was a natural consequence of the revitalisation of the language as the expression of living reality. These activities commenced in the schools and spread beyond them. Educational facilities on a Hebraic basis increased by leaps and bounds. Schools were established, in addition to those associated with the great international movements, by the Society "Esra." The Esra also founded a training college for teachers. The nucleus for a Hebrew Academy for the standardisation of the principles of Hebrew linguistic development has been brought about as a result of this Renascence, and the modern lexicon of Hebrew by Eliezer Ben-Jehuda constitutes a magnificent testimony to the vigorous reality of the Jewish Renascence. Scholarship and practicality have combined to give to the revival this literary treasure of its activity. The General Library at Jerusalem has provided a centre where tradition and progress are united in the atmosphere of Hebraism, and it is one of many institutions which go to show that a broad unity of aspiration is possible in the environment of Palestine without a fettering uniformity of method.

These facts, brought together by Mr. Yellin in an article on Palestine, translated by Mr. H. Snowman

(*Jewish Literary Annual,* 1906), have a particular interest for those who look to the "Bezalel" as a powerful element in the Jewish Renascence. Mr. Yellin then wrote: "A technical school under the name of 'Bezalel' has also been founded this year in Jerusalem under the direction of Professor Boris Schatz. This is also crowded with pupils. We shall be able in the not distant future to see what the school has done towards the betterment of the economic conditions and the diminution of the emigration due to economic pressure." The remarkable progress of the Jewish Renascence in Palestine, in the comparatively short period since that article was printed, has been testified to by the records of the Bezalel school and kindred institutions. The rapidity of Palestinian progress is as encouraging as it is significant. Mr. Yellin speaks of the prevention of the emigration from Palestine, rather than the provision for immigration into the old land. He therefore emphasises the necessity of consolidating Jewish life in Palestine rather than obscuring the efforts by associating its developments with the totally different objective of a more or less temporary Nacht-Asyl.

"Whatever may happen," says Achad Ha'am, "the Bezalel has already become the source of a spiritual influence which makes itself felt in lands far distant from Palestine. Who can tell how many estranged hearts have been brought back to their people in greater or less degree by the beautiful carpets and ornaments of the Bezalel?" (Essay—"Summa Summarum"—*Jewish Review,* May, 1912.) When we reflect upon the Palestine Exhibition, as some of us do reflect, with affectionate recollection, we may ask ourselves whether there was a unity of outlook in participant and contributor which determined the existence of the movement. It is clear that if there was unity in effort, there was not unity in purpose. Nor was it reasonably possible that in the circumstances such unity of purpose would be attainable. But it is useful to group the diverse attitudes which those who took part adopted. Some went in the philanthropic spirit to assist the Jewish people in Palestine. This was only a variant from the ordinary bazaar co-operation which is a very general feature of Occidental social activity. Some, it appeared, took a more thoughtful standpoint, and their desire was to show to those outside our people the potentialities of Jewry. Except for its somewhat pre-emancipation atmosphere of self-justification, there was something to be said as to its utility in this direction. Others, again, were desirous of providing an objective illustration of the actual doings in Palestine. This neutral, if somewhat unphilosophic, standpoint had the merit of allowing the Exhibition to speak for itself. But far the most inspiring attitude was that which was representative of those participants who were convinced that the real value of the Exhibition was to be found in the influence of the Bezalel upon those who were brought within its spell. They who came in that spirit saw what Palestine was doing for them. The Jewish Renascence "over there," as Herzl said, was a Jewish Renascence "over here."

There are perhaps no more subversive travesties of history than those which are the result of the too sweeping generalisations of biographers and hero-worshippers, and in this respect Theodor Herzl has not proved to be an exception to what may be regarded as a rule among the figures associated with the movements of humanity. It has been a very usual estimate of the Herzlian outlook to regard it as seeing its horizon in the State, the whole State, and nothing but the State. True it is that Herzl strove for the establishment of a Jewish Polity, but it seems rather that he strove for a Polity because he felt that in such a Polity alone the co-operative development of Jewry was possible. And the ultimate idealism of his aim was, as I have pointed out before, considerably obscured by its association with the objective of founding a Nacht-Asyl—a place of refuge for the physically storm-tossed of our people. The mere fact that the land of Palestine might serve the two purposes still further involved the clearness of outlook. The objections which are directed against some well-devised plans for providing Nacht-Asyls, is not that they do provide such Nacht-Asyls, but that they do not provide such Nacht-Asyls. And if they do not provide a Nacht-Asyl the substratum of their work no longer exists. As a matter of fact, plans for providing a Nacht-Asyl, based as they are on an objective entirely different from the point of view of the spiritual processes involved by a rational renationalisation, are far less in conflict with such efforts than with the plans for State-building in Palestine. The methods of the spiritual reconstruction and those of the provision of a Nacht-Asyl are as different as the aims.

The methods of State-building, on the contrary, and those associated with the provision of a Nacht-Asyl, bear in their quasi-legal processes a similarity of effort which, to a certain extent, lends colour to the view held as to their competitive wastage of energy. In reality no distinction of purpose is clearly discerned by comparison of the efforts to found a Jewish State in Palestine and a Jewish Colony outside Palestine. The opposition is more readily observed in the conflict of objects aimed at by those who seek the resettlement of Palestine itself. Those whose interest in Palestine is centred in the fact that it will provide a Nacht-Asyl are to this extent more valuable to Jewry than those who seek to find it elsewhere; in that a Nacht-Asyl in Palestine may provide the nucleus of a settlement which can form the foundation of that Jewish Renascence to which the seekers appear comparatively indifferent. They are as a group of individual partners seeking their individual welfare. Those who seek the Nacht-Asyl elsewhere, perhaps more honestly profess their aim and honour Palestine the greater by refusing to make it a spade to till the soil for mere personal advantage.

The true harmony rests between those on the one hand who wish a State in Palestine and those who are content to work for a settlement in Palestine *with the object of the regeneration of Jewish Life*—and, on the other hand, those who wish for a Nacht-Asyl State in Palestine and a Nacht-Asyl Colony elsewhere. They are two categories of genus, with the derived species. Those whose aim is the Jewish Renascence are working for "all Israel." Those who are working for an immediate Nacht-Asyl, whether in Palestine or elsewhere, are seeking for something less, something, let it be admitted, urgent, something meliorative, but sundered far from the spiritual meaning of those who see in a regenerated land of Israel the source of the revitalisation of Jewry.

Herzl, if he combined the aims, never allowed both to coalesce in such a way as to be indistinguishable. In his most strenuous strivings for immediate alleviation, he never allowed the horizon of an idealised Renascence of Jewry to be narrowed or obstructed. In fact, he himself, at an historic juncture of the movement, showed that he had realised that the two objectives were independent, by his efforts to secure temporary alleviation by settlement elsewhere. In that he did so he emphasised the *essential necessity of Palestine*, and not its ephemeral utilisation as a temporary shelter. To show that Herzl had the idealistic aspect of Palestine ever in sight, it is only necessary to refer to the work in which the great leader unfolded his aims, and the methods by which they were to be brought about. In the *Jewish State*, which has as its sub-title "An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question," he repeatedly referred to the imaginative powers of Palestine, and the idealising potency of a Jewish resettlement. "'Next year in Jerusalem' is their old phrase," Herzl wrote (p. 12). "Now comes the opportunity to prove that the dream may be converted into a living reality." . . . "We shall not dwell in mud huts: we shall build newer and more beautiful houses, and possess them in safety. . . . We shall not sacrifice our beloved customs: we shall find them again." "We shall build in a bolder and more stately style than was ever adopted before, for we now possess means which were never yet possessed." "Palestine is our ever-memorable historic home. The very name of Palestine would attract our people with a force of marvellous potence" (p. 29). "Over there the houses . . . will be newer, more beautiful and more comfortably fitted" (p. 33). "The workmen's dwellings . . . will resemble neither those melancholy workmen's barracks of European towns nor those miserable rows of cabins which surround factories. . . . The detached houses in little gardens will be united into attractive groups in each locality. The natural conformation of the land will rouse the ingenuity of our young architects, whose ideas have not yet been cramped by routine; and even if the people do not grasp the whole import of the plan, they will at any rate feel at ease in their loose clusters. The Temple will be visible from long distances, for our faith it was that united us in old days. There will be light, attractive, healthy schools . . . conducted on the most approved modern systems. There will be continuation schools for workmen, which will educate them up to greater technical knowledge . . ." (p. 36). "About a hundred different types of houses will be executed, and of course repeated. These beautiful types will form part of our propaganda" (p. 44). "We shall proceed in everything else in the same humane spirit, making of the new land a land of experiments and a model state" (p. 96). "Innumerable objections will be based on low grounds . . . perhaps we shall have to fight first against many a narrow-hearted short-sighted member of our own race . . ." (p. 98).

Referring to the ideal as a whole, and its influence upon Jewry, Herzl wrote: "They will awaken from gloomy brooding, for into their lives will come a new significance" (p. 101). "A wondrous generation of Jews will spring into existence. The Maccabeans will rise again." Herzl realised with perfect insight that the solution of Palestinian resettlement did not lie alone in the establishment of a purely agricultural population. He wrote in the *Jewish State* (p. 19): "Whoever were to attempt a conversion of the Jew into a husbandman would be making an extraordinary mistake." This wide statement, in the light of prior and subsequent experience, no doubt requires reinterpretation to this extent, that to expect the majority of Jewish people to become agrarianised is neither necessary nor possible. "It is absurd and indeed impossible to make modern peasants on the old pattern," said Herzl (p. 20). "The Jews are perfectly justified in refusing to stir, when people try to agrarianise them." We know, however, that our Jewish people can be successful agriculturists; but we also know that the most successful of the transatlantic Jewish colonies are those which combine industrial and agricultural efforts. This instance of the more developed sense of humanity to which mankind generally is attaining, and beneath which the Jewish people decline to exist, is one which makes for the success of Palestine resettlement by the establishment of such "generating stations" of civilisation, to borrow Achad Ha'am's phrase, as the Bezalel School directed by Professor Schatz. The cultivation of garden cities of handicrafts provides healthy, natural, and humane lives and livings—centres from which can radiate the inspiration of a new and yet old civilisation.

It is a frequent objection to movements which deal with the concrete that they are unspiritual in the sense of spirituality as a synonym of Faith. And if the concrete work is associated with abstract nationalism, it is even more liable to such criticism. Our Nationalists who are without the Faith, and those who are of the Faith without the historic national consciousness, are both incomplete and are really a *tertium quid*—a betwixt and between—regarded by both within and without as an anomalous entity, as in fact they really are. "We are a people—one people." Thus Herzl in the *Jewish State* (p. 5). But further he added: "We feel our historic affinity only through the faith of our Fathers" (p. 64). "We shall also create a centre for the deep religious needs of our people." Thus the Nationalist leader was also the upholder of the spiritual tradition. That there are extremes produced by any movement is no objection to the principles which if duly followed would have resulted in an undiverging course. Those who wish to sectarianise Jewry into the category of a Faith alone are faced with a difficulty which is the product of their own system. They assert that the Faith is one, and that alone suffices to maintain Jewry. That it has done so up to the present must be regarded in the light of the fact that Jewry has been a more or less hermetically sealed compartment in pre-emancipation periods, and thus an automatic sub-nationalism was forced upon all Jewry. In the light of post-emancipation experiences, this unity of the sub-nationalism has in many quarters gone, and with it the preserving elements of historic tradition. The result is that the One Faith becomes a series of species of one genus, with such divergences of outlook that Jewry is not merely sectarianised as against the rest of the world, as the opponents of Nationalism assert that it is, but it becomes inter-sectarianised. Gradually these entities of Jewry become more distinct, and as the only link lies in the historic consciousness, and the historic consciousness is the very factor which is absent, Jewry would threaten to become a sporadic concourse of sectarian atoms (see the Essay "Imitation and Assimilation," Selected Essays by Achad Ha'am, translated from the Hebrew, *Al Parashat Derachim*, by Leon Simon, p. 107). Thus they who most loudly assert they stand for the Faith and the Faith alone, will often be found to contain many by whose methods the Faith will no longer stand at all.

There is Jewish authority for the drawing of a distinction between the people of Israel and those who are merely believers in its faith. That, in the main, concerns the proselytes. It was not designed as a weapon against the sense of the community of Israel, whose People and Faith are one. Israel is not the Faith without the People, nor the People without the Faith. Those, on the other hand, who stand for Nationality only, are also historically anomalous; but if their Nationalism is translated into reality their tendency, by sheer force of circumstances, will become Hebraised into the Jewish Faith by the environment of their life. It may be against their will, but the circumstances will be too strong for them. Those who cling to the Faith alone, if it is not the Faith of Tradition, may by the sheer force of circumstances be de-Hebraised out of Jewry into the nonentity of cosmopolitan ethics. Thus it is that those of the Jewish Faith without the historic consciousness are putting themselves outside Israel, and those who know of Nationality alone declare themselves, thereby, not to know Israel's Nationality. The two extreme types are products of their own lack of perspective—they are out of focus; they have the part and not the whole.

The very process of emphasis on the idea of creed (positively by those who think alone of the Jewish Faith, negatively by those who think of everything but the Jewish Faith) is out of tune with the Jewish tradition and contrary to the Hebrew spirit. As Schechter has said, "the rebirth of Israel's national consciousness and the revival of Judaism are inseparable" (*Zionism—A Statement*, by S. Schechter, p. 8). There is only one Israel—the Israel of History. Referring to Zionistic activity and the trend of its tendencies, Schechter says: "It had to recreate the Jewish consciousness before erecting the Jewish State. . . . It has created a press. . . . It has given to the world Asher Ginzberg, or as he is better known by the pen-name of Achad

Ha'am, one of our finest intellects and most original thinkers, and he is followed by a whole host of disciples, all of them working under the stimulus of the Jewish national ideal, much as they may differ in the Zionistic aspects they may happen to emphasise. It has enriched our literature with a large number of novels and lyrics, and even distinct Zionist melodies are not wanting" (*ibid.*, p. 11). It has further called into existence numerous societies, he proceeds to point out, whose aim is to make Hebrew a living language, and special schools have been established with the same end in view. "It is preparing for us the future which will be a Jewish future" (*ibid.*, p. 13).

BERTRAM B. BENAS.

The Jewish Woman in Religious Life

A Paper read at the Women's Congress at Munich, 1912, by Bertha Pappenheim

In order that my remarks may appeal to a wide circle I would indicate, in a few words, the fundamental differences which underlie the development of communal life in Christian and Jewish religious communities.

The Jewish religion is purest Monotheism. It knows no dogmas, no church, no sects, no proselytes, no mission, no worldly or political ambitions. It is in the best sense a matter of private conscience ; it has and needs no outward forms and authorities to bind its members together.

The construction of the community is, as one would expect from its simple premises, of the simplest : the members unite for prayer and for the study of the holy writings ; they are bound together by the ties of ritual laws which sanctify everyday life, and their whole life is permeated with the fulfilment of the command, " Love thy neighbour as thyself," which serves to give them a corporate life of ideal solidarity, and therefore of great resisting power.

The functionaries of the Jewish community are, on the one hand, scholars and teachers whose high task it is to preserve alive the God-idea and to work out the social-*ethical* meaning of Holy Writ—on the other hand, of officials who supervise the carrying out of the social-*hygienic* prescriptions of the ritual. It is the duty of every individual to practise the general precept of love and charity.

The absolutely equal interest of all for all gives a healthy democratic trend to the organisation, but we must admit at the outset that this does not apply to women. The persecution of the adherents of the Jewish religion has for many centuries given a strange character to Jewish communal life, which has come to be generally recognised under the term Ghetto. The disappearance of the physical walls of the Ghetto has, however, not meant for all Jewish communities religious tolerance and freedom of conscience, nor the recognition of equality for other religious communities. Thus we see the communal life of the Jews in the Diaspora, though starting from the same religious basis, developing on very different lines; varying with the culture of the people by whom it is surrounded and with the obstruction with which it meets. It presents in itself, to-day, the harshest and most extraordinary contrasts; its individual members, subject to different upbringing in their various countries, being often united by nothing more than the uninterrupted tradition of Monotheism and the command of love of one's neighbour. The English or French Jew who has been settled for generations in the country, and who has absorbed all its forms of culture in his home life, and perhaps even political life, is individually and socially in the greatest possible contrast to the majority of Polish Jews, who in appearance and in all outward forms of life still live as in a mediæval Ghetto; the Roumanian and Russian Jew, groaning under the lash of persecution, or in open revolt at society, is the antithesis of the free-born American Jew. And the German Jew, who not only represents the spiritual culture of his native land, but has enriched that culture with many valuable elements, is strongly dissimilar to the Sephardi Jew who has assimilated Spanish and Oriental modes of life.

The Jewish woman accompanies the man in his general cultural development, yet the differentiation between the sexes *within the congregation*—and this is the subject under discussion—still remains very marked. Even for German conditions, with which we are here primarily concerned, it would be unfair to judge her position by the standard of modern culture.

To understand that position aright, we must look back and consider that great conglomeration of law, tradition, and custom which exists subconsciously for the majority of Western Jews of to-day as "Tradition"; which, for many, has a sort of historical value; while it is still observed by a minority in its entirety. Here is material for the Talmudist, the historian, the sociological student, and it may seem to representatives of these branches of learning that I, an ignorant woman, presume too much in attempting to speak thereon. But, in very fact, it is significant that there is no woman, nor ever has been, who has thoroughly mastered the Jewish sources of study necessary for a discussion of the question in its religious and historical aspect, or who has treated the material from a woman's point of view, as we see women doing to-day in other branches of juristic work. The house of study—the home and nursery of specifically Jewish culture—has ever been closed to the woman, and wherever Jewish learning is transmitted in the traditional way, so it will remain in the future. Thus, not only in the past, have we been referred always to the male conception of the Torah, the commentaries, and the tradition; but even now, when the feminine point of view could be expressed in translations of the Hebrew text, and in reconsideration of the subject-matter, etc., the very possibility of individual critical study of the original texts is denied us. We Jewish women must take, unquestioningly, praise and blame, admiration and condemnation of the sex, as we get it scattered through the vast masses of literature, through the spectacles of male scholars, who read into Jewish literature their own personal opinion and personal experiences.

The purpose of this congress is therefore better realised by being addressed by an unlearned woman who, however, has grown up with the tradition, than by a scholar who, though he knew more, would hardly represent the point of view we want to-day : to ascertain the measure of woman's feeling and living interest in a state and condition which has in part been fixed by history, but which must now come into contact with the ever-flowing spring of all ethical life.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, I shall draw a sharp distinction between the importance of the woman and her position in the Jewish community in olden and modern times. The old traditional Jewish conception of woman implies always the married woman, since the Oriental notions of womanhood, which so largely influenced Jewish legislation, did not embrace the idea of the female as an individuality who might develop freely on her own lines without the sexual complement of the male. Woman is the bearer, the guardian, and preserver of the nation, and only in so far as she carries out this, her primary function—on which depends the welfare and continued existence of the people, Israel—does she come into her own domain. The ordinances which enjoin the purity and holiness of marriage, the regulated intercourse between the sexes with a view to rearing a numerous and healthy progeny—these gave woman, in the eyes of the Law, a conscious value in ethical matters and in the national economy, similar to that which she holds in the scientific and practical sociology of to-day.

Be it understood that the married woman, and even as such, the mother of children only, is the only woman held up for respect and consideration in Jewish law. This respect is expressed not only in poetical and theoretical sentiments, but takes very definite practical shape in forms and precepts which, in our modern vocabulary, would be called "the safeguarding of motherhood on a foundation of ethics." This respect for motherhood is shown very clearly by the fact that according to Jewish law the woman is exempted from ritual observances which make demands outside the home. This means that for a Jewish woman nothing is of greater importance or urgency than her fulfilment of her duties as mother, which should demand all her time and attention.

It is not surprising to find that the old Jewish esteem for family life, and its healthy purity, its reverence for the married woman and legitimate mother, should engender a corresponding contempt for the unmarried mother and her offspring. This scorn, which within the narrow walls of the Ghetto may well have served as a protective check against harmful excrescences, becomes callousness in modern times and conditions, since freedom of thought and action, increased difficulties of living attendant on early marriage, assimilation of the good and bad elements of their new surroundings, have wrought changes in the sexual intercourse of Jews—a problem which demands our earnest attention.

The considerate exemption of woman from duties outside the home is not the only reason for her having become a sort of domestic recluse; the important precept of early marriage, and a certain fear of sexual passion in man, have cut the woman off from free intercourse with the male world, and thereby from all intellectual life.

For though the Jew was bound by law to exclusively Jewish study in the Hebrew language, this very training was the best school for sharpening the mind, and has rendered him, in every age, peculiarly receptive and responsive to other subjects of study. The women remained for the most part (less by law than by ancient custom) in total ignorance. Their deficient mental training tended to make them sexually and domestically so dependent on the male, that when political emancipation brought spiritual freedom to the man, it was not till much later that women began to develop themselves as individuals.

We have sufficient proof of the disregard of the woman in the Jewish service when we see that for purposes of prayer a woman is not counted as a member of the congregation ; she is not called up to the reading of the Law, and she does not participate in the public ceremony of coming of age, as every boy of thirteen years of age is required to do. This last, the ceremony of Barmitzvoh, gives the boy early a higher status than the girl. By a religious privilege he feels himself from childhood superior to the female sex.

We see the same illogical disparity between the importance of the woman and her position in the congregation, when we consider the part she plays in carrying out the social-hygienic ordinances, and the all-important social-ethical precept of the sanctification of the Sabbath. The woman is entrusted implicitly with the carrying out of the dietary laws, which are still to-day of paramount importance wherever the communal supervision is unconscientious in its control of food-stuffs. More especially in the disinfection of meat by salting, and in the fulfilment of other seemingly unimportant precepts, the Jewish woman quietly and naturally fills the rôle of a sanitary official, and in times of epidemic, often unknown to herself, her loyal devotion has proved of incalculable service.

Still more important, because of its high ethical value, is her participation in the sanctification of the Sabbath. To the woman is given the symbolical ceremony of lighting the candles on Friday evening, the holy inauguration of the Sabbath ; and it is her duty to see that in the Jewish home man and beast shall rest for twenty-four hours, and gather new life and strength for the coming six working days.

It has long been one of the most justifiable demands of women of all confessions that all working women who earn their daily bread should be allowed these hours of preparation before the day of rest, which Jewish law, saturated as it is with the social spirit, so judiciously and lovingly prescribes. It is especially for the trebly difficult and responsible duties of the woman, as housekeeper, mother, and wage-earner, that this evening, which ushers in the day of rest, should be observed, in order to ensure the full religious, physical, and æsthetic enjoyment of the Sabbath.

There is only one domain which the Jewish woman shares equally with the man, and that is in the fulfilment of that command, which was said by one of our sages to contain the whole of the Jewish religion, "Love thy neighbour as thyself." This ancient Jewish affirmative command, the foundation of which is found in the Ten Commandments, holds good equally for both man and woman. But it must be practised as well as preached. Feeding the hungry, nursing the sick, caring for the orphan, endowing the bride, performing last rites for the dead—all these works Jewish women can and should be ever willing to perform. Before the political emancipation, these activities of the Jews could scarcely shape themselves into permanent organisations, as with Christian communities who developed in peace and stability. Attempts at such can be found in the formation of societies for nursing the sick and burying the dead, and here and there in labour guilds. But the warm personal touch of love in action, lacking order it is true, but full of the spirit of endurance and devotion—this it was which grew up in inexhaustible strength behind the Ghetto walls, and which is a living force to this day. Even before the Jew felt sufficiently secure to dare to build little hospitals, or found small societies, there could not be found in his congregation a sick man or woman untended, nor a fatherless child unbefriended; a woman whose husband had perhaps been crippled by torture never went without help, nor was any man, whom a cruel verdict had deprived of his livelihood, deserted in his misery by his co-religionists. Men and women were always ready with their aid.

It is true, indeed, that the position of women in the congregation has not been influenced by the practice of the command of love of one's neighbour; and in our own day we see the disparity between the importance and the position of the woman altered rather to her disadvantage, since with the levelling down of religious life among the Jews the Jewish woman has lost much of her high standing within the home, without hitherto gaining a corresponding measure of importance and position in communal life.

It is immaterial whether we date the growth of a freer and stronger development of Jewish communal life from the French Revolution, or from the year 1848, or even later; everywhere we see the communities governed by men; only in the matter of taxes have they been broad-minded enough to include independent women among those privileged to pay. The breath of life which swept through the old Judengassen of the German towns at the dawn of the last century brought with it possibilities of higher education for Jewish women, of which they were not slow to take advantage; but rights, in the sense in which women are demanding them to-day, have not yet been accorded us.

Strangely enough women are largely absent from those independent social benevolent undertakings in which, according to Jewish law, both sexes should participate equally. The whole of Jewish philanthropy, that most admirable outward ethical expression of Judaism of the nineteenth century—I use the word philanthropy here deliberately, because the democratic element is lacking—has, since its inception, been carried on without the aid of women, and has been devoted almost exclusively to the good of the male section of the Jewish population. The Alliance Israélite Universelle, the great bequests of Baron Hirsch (directed to education and colonisation), the widespread organisations of Freemasonry (B'nei B'rith)—all these have refused to fall in with the spirit of modern sociology, and jealously deny to woman their co-operation and co-responsibility. The Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden has indeed made a small attempt to include women workers, but this is of very recent date, and the results are inconclusive. The " Union of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith " has made a notable beginning of joint activity by electing two women on local committees. The youngest of the large Jewish organisations, the Zionist, which has assimilated modern forms of procedure, gives women the right to sit and vote in their parliament; but the Centralbureau works without a woman representative, though it deals with the problem of the building up of a nation. There are many charitable institutions in our provinces governed almost exclusively by men, though recognised as belonging to the sphere of woman's work—institutions such as kindergarten, hospitals, nursing homes, girls' schools, and the whole of poor relief.

It becomes apparent—when we look at what Jewesses accomplish outside the community—that this *tempo ritardando* in the progress of woman within the Jewish community is partly due to the Oriental religious tradition and to the domestic dependence of the woman on the man, and is not to be attributed to her incapacity of fulfilling social duties.

Had the Jewish woman been able to expend her energies and capabilities in communal work, and been given her rightful position and status in the congregation, we should not have had to lament the loss of so many, who in their justifiable longing for useful activity and self-development, have broken the bands which held them to their community, and have sought salvation elsewhere.

Full participation in all humanitarian objects is at once the final aim of the woman's movement and the meeting-point of all religions. The Jewish religion makes such demands of character and courage that the majority of Jewish women can find their high vocation anew within their own race and religion, and draw thence their truest inspiration.

So I seem to see the sincere women adherents of the three great religions joining in a continuous stream of the highest human endeavour, and we Jewesses will keep our Ring, which still possesses the old power of being "pleasant to God and man," faithfully and full of confidence.

(*Translated from the German by Margery Bentwich.*)

The Organisations of the Jews of Poland in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries

One of the most striking features in the history of the Jews of Poland was the development among them, and the successful operation, of powerful organisations for the guiding and governing of their religious and communal activities. The highest achievement in this organising tendency was reached when, in the sixteenth century, the "Council of the Four Lands" * came into existence, with which Little Poland, Great Poland, Podolia, and Ukraine (Volhynia) were identified, and with which, until the organisation of its own Council (1623), also Lithuania was from time to time affiliated.

The circumstances that contributed to this Jewish cohesiveness were twofold in character—external and internal. The external cause was due to the Polish Government, which always regarded the Jews as a distinct element in its population, a people of aliens, for whom it provided special legislation, and whose affairs it administered apart from the rest of the body politic. The other element was supplied by the Jews themselves, in the internal tie that bound them together as a people; in their common spiritual and intellectual pursuits; in their uniformity of religious practice, and in their allegiance to a Law and Faith that yet knew no dissenters. Both these influences had this one effect upon Jewish life, that of isolating it from its environment, and constituting the Jewish people into a distinct

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* ועד ד" הארעות. This is the usual name by which it is known. It is, however, also referred to as the "Council of Three Lands" and as the "Council of Five Lands."

class by themselves. The Government viewed them in that light, and provided special legislation for them, and imposed special taxes on them. The Jews themselves also felt that they were a separate people, distinguished in their religion and culture, and in the possession of other interests peculiarly their own. Occupying as they did this unique position in the land, it was but natural for the Jews to desire autonomy in the management of their internal affairs, a privilege which was the more readily granted them as it had the effect of making the entire Jewish community responsible for the collecting of the taxes, and the meeting of the other obligations imposed by the Polish Government. This autonomy, originally granted only in the matter of the Government taxes, was later extended in other directions, and was also utilised by the Jews themselves in the development of a number of organisations for the regulating and strengthening of their own religious and communal life.

The first step toward the granting of this autonomy was taken when Polish kings appointed a Jewish Prefect to collect the Jewish taxes. When these prefects were later no longer acceptable to the Jewish people, it necessitated the establishment in each city of what might be called a Board of Commissioners, consisting of Rabbis and laymen, whose function it was to look after the collecting of the taxes for the Government. In this manner did the "Kahal," or local administration of Jewish communities, originate in Poland and Lithuania. Originally instituted for the purpose of making each community collectively responsible to the Government for its taxes, the Kahal soon extended its powers, and assumed control over all other matters of Jewish concern. Such a central organisation existed in every large community, and it had jurisdiction also over the surrounding territory, with its scattered settlements, called "Prikahali." In the case of a boundary dispute between two Kahals whose territories adjoined, the matter could be referred for adjustment to the "Provincial Congresses," which met periodically, and which were representative of the Kahals within the provincial boundaries. The highest tribunal, however, was afforded by the Council of the Four Lands, "whose authority was more than local or provincial, but extended over all of Poland and Lithuania, and to which were referred not only disputes between Kahals," but also those between individuals, and all manner of differences besides, that required the offices of some higher court to adjust; and in this sense the Council at times also exercised the functions of a Jewish Supreme Court.

The principal institutions in the organisation of the Jews of Poland at this time were, therefore: (*a*) the Council of the Four Lands, (*b*) the Provincial Congresses, and (*c*) the Kahal. While the records left us by these bodies are anything but complete, yet it is possible for us to form a general conception of the scope of the Council's activities, and of the machinery with which it carried on its work.

(*a*) *The Council of the Four Lands.* It would seem that this Council had at first no definite meeting-place for its conferences, that being determined in each case by the immediate needs and conveniences of the hour. In the course of time, however, and particularly during its most flourishing days, the Council met semi-annually in the cities of Lublin and Jaroslaw alternately, in the former during the winter, in the latter city in the summer, this being the time when fairs were held in these places. But even after these cities had become the official meeting-places of the Council, it yet found it necessary in several instances also to meet elsewhere. Of the two regular meeting-places the city of Lublin was the first to be chosen, and about sixty or seventy years later Jaroslaw was selected as an additional resort. For about one hundred years, from 1590 to 1690, these two cities were equally favoured. At the latter date, however, the conferences at Lublin ceased, and were henceforth confined to Jaroslaw only, where they continued for some sixty or seventy years longer.

The Congresses held in these cities constituted the representative legislative council of all the "lands" that belonged to it. In its deliberations took part the communal leaders and spiritual guides of the various Jewish communities in Poland, who were sent as delegates to these conferences, the enactments of which became binding upon the communities they represented. Hannover * states that the Council was composed of one "Parnass" (lay delegate) from every community entitled to representation, to whom were also added six of the leading Rabbinic authorities from the whole of Poland. It is probable that the task of the Parnassim was chiefly the assessment of Government taxes, and the looking after other financial and secular matters, while the Rabbis took charge of religious matters, and such legal questions as properly came under the jurisdiction of the Jewish Law. The delegates to the various conferences of the Council were elected, not by the Kahal, but by the entire Jewish population, and one so elected by the popular vote could not be released from making the journey to the conference. In case at any conference there were not enough Kahal delegates, then those present were permitted to add to their number respected visitors at the fairs sufficient to constitute a quorum. Eight days previous to the conference, each Kahal was to deposit a statement of its accounts with the Central Council, and also elect its lay delegates to the approaching conference.†

The presiding officer of these conferences was a layman known as the Parnass, and associated with him was the Rabbinical head, called the "Rav Ab Beth-Din." Besides there were other officials, such as one or more secretaries or clerks, who went by the name שמשים

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* Hannover, Yewen Mezulah, Lemberg, 1851.

† Lewin, *Neue Materialien zur Geschichte der Vierländersynode*, Frankfurt-a-M., 1905, Vol. I, pp. 8, 16, 36.

and who at times combined with their other duties what would now be known as the office of treasurer. The office of שמש was by no means that of a mere menial, for he was to be elected by a majority vote, and only a competent and trustworthy person would be selected for the post. He was the custodian of the Council's minutes, and was also entrusted with its financing.* Besides these officials, the Council had committees of various kinds. There was, for instance, the Committee of "Legal Agents" (שתדלנים), emissaries of the Council who went to Warsaw during the sessions of the Polish Seim (Diet) to look after Jewish interests, and to interview members of this Polish Parliament when found necessary. Then there was the Committee of Conference Rabbis, who constituted the "Conference Court," to which all legal matters were referred. Besides there were other committees or individuals appointed, as the need arose, to report upon matters that had been referred to the Council, or to carry out a programme of work that might have been mapped out at any of its sittings.

(*b*) A position subordinate to the Council of Lands was occupied by the *Provincial Conferences*. At a provincial assembly the lay and spiritual heads of the various Kahals in its domains would discuss their own internal affairs, and would at times draw up recommendations to the Central Council bearing upon their own localities. Disputes arising between any two Kahals of a province as to scope of jurisdiction, etc., would first be referred to these conferences, and if settlement could not be made, or if it proved unsatisfactory, then they would be carried to the Central Council at its national conferences. These minor congresses would also act as the agents of the Council in the detailed apportionment of taxes within their respective provinces. In addition to their other functions, they were also often called upon to pass judgment on the merits of literary work, to which they were privileged to give their "Haskamot" independently of the Central Council. Of these provincial conferences there were never more than four, corresponding to "the four lands," which were the constituent parts of the general Council.

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* Lewin, Vol. II, p. 27.

(*c*) The elemental unit in this entire organisation was the Kahal, the individual Jewish community, which sent its representatives both to the provincial and national congresses. Each Kahal district consisted of one city and the adjacent minor boroughs and villages ("Prikahali"). The members of the Kahal (administrative board) which governed such a territory were in number proportionate to the population. Elections to this Kahal took place annually during the Passover week, and only such were eligible for elections who were full citizens, and were not in arrears for their taxes. What the general composition of a Kahal board would be can be judged from the regulations of the city of Zolkiew for 1691,* which provide for the following number of officials: (*a*) The Kahal proper (administrative board) to consist of twelve members, to be divided into three classes thus: four "Heads" (ראשים), four "Supervisers" (טובים), and four "Principals" (עקרים). All of these had the same status, except that the Heads were to take turns in being "the monthly parnass" (פרנס החודש), which was equivalent to the chief executive office in the Kahal. (*b*) Ten "Judges" (דיינים) were also appointed, this exclusive of the Ab Beth-Din. (*c*) Five "Assessors" (שמאים) were to be selected by lot, whose duty it was to estimate and collect taxes. (*d*) Various committees were also appointed, e.g. five communal "Elders" (גבאים), five "Accountants" (רואי חשבונות), four on "a Committee of Relief" (קופה גבאים) and other temporary committees, whose number was not to exceed five. Among other committees mentioned there was one that had the general dispensing of the Kahal's charities (הגבאים דצדקה גדולה), and one that looked after matters of Schechita and Kashrut.*

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* Buber, Kirja Nisgaba, Krakau, 1903.

The Kahal or administrative board of each community was practically its local municipal government. It administered educational, philanthropic, and religious matters, by having control over synagogues, colleges, and charitable institutions, as also on the Rabbinic Office. It was also its function to supervise trade and commerce, as well as all other matters of an economic or sanitary character affecting the Jews. Its sanction was required in all business transactions between the community and any individual, Jew or Gentile, and through its Rabbi and Dayanim it was authorised to judge any kind of legal suits arising in commercial life. From the looking after business integrity, through a supervision of the weights and measures used, to providing for the periodical cleaning of Jewish streets, all was within the scope and function of the Kahal administration.

In its relation to the Council of Lands, it was the task of the Kahal to apportion the Government taxes allotted as the share for its particular district, and to be responsible for the collection of it. In all matters the Kahal was under the guidance and jurisdiction of the Council of Lands, and was subservient to its will. The decisions of the Council, and particularly such as had a bearing on the Kahal in question, had to be reported by its representatives, and transcribed into its Pinkes (Kahal Records) to become the law for its guidance and obedience. Cases of insubordination, or failure to meet the obligations imposed by the Council, were punished by fines, and the depriving Kahals of representation in the Council's conferences. In this fabric of Jewish autonomy, as represented by the Kahal, the Provincial Conference, and the Council of the Four Lands, the last stood supreme, furnishing a Court of Appeal for the others, and organising them into one whole through the power of its supreme authority.

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* As further accessories there were also women who assisted in works of charity and deeds of piety.

With this complete organisation at its command, the Council of the Four Lands was in a position to look after the general welfare of the Jews of Poland, and to unite them in a manner they have not been united since, in any of the lands of the Diaspora. Its activities in this direction were indeed varied and numerous, and while we cannot enumerate them here in any extended form, yet something of their character can be judged if we summarise them as follows :—

(1) *The Council as Legislative Body* in regulating the internal affairs of the Jews of Poland. In this capacity it "worked out definite regulations for the various institutions which embodied Jewish self-government in Poland, as well as issued prescriptions extraordinary, called for by the exigencies of the moment." Otherwise it also took steps to regulate the lives of the Jews to be in conformity with Jewish Law, and regulations with this object in view were published with the authority of the Council, and are still extant. As a further illustration of such edicts of the Council may be quoted the one it passed in 1580 at Lublin, providing that no Jew, under penalty of a severe ban, should farm out any revenues from the King or the nobles, either in Great Poland, Little Poland, or the Province of Mazovia (מאזי). We readily appreciate the importance of this law when we remember that abuses arising from its violation later brought upon the Jews the massacres attending the Chmielniki rebellion. The legislation of the Council thus had for its purpose not only the regulating of the religious and economic life of the Jew, but also the earning for him of safety and peace among his Gentile neighbours.

(2) *The Council as intermediary between the Polish Government and its Jewish subjects.* We have already mentioned the relation of the Polish King toward the

Council in the matter of the collection of the State taxes. Reference has also been made to the agents of the Council who had to be present in Warsaw during the sessions of the Polish Seim, and on other occasions, to watch Jewish interests with the Government; to see that no new regime annulled any of their vested rights; that no new legislation added to their disabilities, to anticipate hostile legislation, and to influence the individual members of the Polish Seim to be favourably disposed toward the Jews. The expenses incurred by these agents were defrayed by a special fund instituted for that purpose, and made up from special dues contributed by the constituent "lands." We would, however, also mention in this connection the effective work done by the Council of Lands in combating the false accusations frequently made against the Jews of using Christian blood for the Passover, and of desecrating Church sacraments. Through its efforts many a community was saved from the brutal onslaughts of the superstitious populace who believed these ridiculous charges. It was also through the good offices of the emissaries it sent to Pope Benedict XIV at Rome, subsequent upon a series of blood accusations that occurred in Poland, that the famous edict of Ganganelli (later Pope Clemens XIV) on this subject was promulgated, and which was followed by good results not only in Poland but in other countries as well.

(3) *The Council as regulator of the ethical and institutional life of the Jew.* In the field of practical ethics and education the Council was indeed very active. That activity manifested itself in many directions, giving rise to new institutions, governing existing ones, and affording ethical standards of conduct for private and communal life. The Council provided for supervision of all educational institutions, and many features, though not always the best, of the system of education then established are still in vogue among the Jews of East European countries. In addition to its educational

institutions the Council also encouraged learning and literary activity generally, and thus had a share in the development of much of the Jewish literature of that time. In this particular field its activity was threefold, viz.: publishing text-books for the Yeshibas, e.g. the Talmud; appointing individuals to write necessary legal tracts; and, finally, endorsing works submitted for its approval and authorising their publication. In the field of practical ethics the Council also took a very active interest. Its regulations provide for all manner of philanthropies, which were to be administered by the various Kahals in a most liberal spirit. A minute study of the charitable institutions of the Jews of Poland at this time, which we are compelled to leave for a more extended study of this subject, will reveal a system of philanthropies which for comprehensiveness and effectiveness and generosity of spirit is not to be excelled by the most modern of our Jewish communities. Every possible need of the poor received consideration. The itinerant poor were lodged and fed; prisoners were ransomed, and dowries provided for poor girls. The Kahal taught vagrant children trades; it meted out weekly stipends to the chronic poor; it even sought, in some instances, to prevent ill-advised marriages that might result in pauperism; it supervised hospitals, appointed the physicians, and had the management of all other institutions whose mission it was to look after humanity's unfortunates.

All this work, as well as many other activities too numerous to detail, came under the ægis, directly or indirectly, of the Council of the Four Lands. Thus, in the course of time, Polish Jewry developed a most complex organisation, all the parts of which worked together to bring about a higher communal life under the leadership of those whose learning and character vested them with the highest authority. This leadership was shared in by both laity and clergy; and in the various important bodies that formed the organisation of Polish Jewry, both these sections of the community were fully represented, with the laity naturally preponderating in number. The functions of these bodies, of which the Council of the Four Lands was the most representative, were, however, chiefly administrative, and even in the matter of religion their interest was on its practical rather than on its dogmatic side. The Council of the Four Lands, for instance, with all the authority it enjoyed, never felt itself empowered to abrogate existing religious laws or institutions, whether they received their sanction from Bible, Talmud, or recognised authority of later date. In matters of religious observance it initiated nothing of greater novelty than, for instance, the setting aside of the 20th of Sivan (1650) as a Fast Day, in commemoration of the first in the series of Chmielniki massacres. On that occasion it indeed inclined toward leniency, by granting licences to remarry to those women (עגונות) whose husbands had been missing since the massacres, and who were therefore accepted as dead; and it, above all, showed its efficiency as an organisation by restoring the Jewish communal life which had then been wrecked in many parts of Poland. But otherwise, in the field of religion, the Council was content to abide by the existing Halacha, and merely to develop it through application in specific cases. Such cases were frequently submitted to it, not only from at home, but also from abroad, thus giving its decisions an authority reaching far beyond the bounds of its constitutional "lands." If the spirit of the age had demanded a change of theologic attitude, or some innovation in Jewish Law or practice, it is a matter for speculation if the Council would have felt itself obliged to go beyond the limitations it set itself, and if it did, whether it would have continued to enjoy this universal authority. But this consideration aside, the immense benefits, material and spiritual, that accrued to the Jews of Poland through their organisations, are sufficient to teach the advisability of organisation for our modern Jewries, if not along similar lines, at least for a similar purpose, that of developing a healthy and vigorous communal life. When the Jewries of the world shall thus be organised, and at their head conferences equally as representative, and enjoying as much prestige as did the Council of the Four Lands, then will the field also be considerably prepared for the realisation of the idea of a Jewish Synod, which shall make for Israel's true solidarity, and to which all the Jewries of the world shall look for guidance and inspiration.

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The Biblical Lessons: A Chapter on Biblical Archæology

(*Continued from p.* 325)

In addition to the public reading of the Bible, and side by side with it, went the private reading or meditation. The preceding investigation has thus far led us to one result based on the archæological and palæographical facts preserved from ancient times and scattered throughout the whole literature. They all point unmistakably to the existence of only one system of public reading. The technical terms used leave no room for any other interpretation or for the existence of any other way of reading the Law in public, and prove that the system was to read the whole of the Pentateuch from the end of Succoth to the end of Succoth. It would be, however, a grave mistake to assume that the public reading of the Bible was the beginning and end of the use to which the Bible has been put. From a purely historical point of view it is clear that the public reading was only one aspect of the study of the Bible, and that before and concurrent with the public reading, the private reading and study must have been a universal practice. Whilst in Deuteronomy it is enjoined that the King should read the Bible (or such portions of it as were prescribed according to the tradition) once in every seven years to the assembled people, in the Bible the command of reading and meditating on the Law was repeated ever and anon. It is out of this private reading that the public reading grew; for it is not easy to assume that every Jew was sufficiently educated to read the Bible for himself, and therefore the public reading was instituted to assist in the fulfilment of that desire, and to make the Book better known among the masses. It would be almost superfluous to quote here all the passages in the Bible where reference to the reading and study of the Law is mentioned or emphasised. From the first command to Joshua (chap. I. 8) to the dying exhortation of David to Solomon (I Kings II. 3), almost to the last words of the prophet Malachi and the most important public action of Ezra (Neh. VIII. 8), all record the same fact, the reading of the Bible in public and in private; and the whole of the later development rests and turns exclusively on the study and application of the Law. From 1 Maccabees (I. 56 f.) we learn that many private persons were possessed of books of the Law, which, by the order of the King Antiochus, were rent and then burned by fire. No doubt these were Bibles in the possession of private persons who used them for their private reading. I might in passing refer also to the "Sefer" of R. Meir, a famous private model codex of the Law. So much was "reading" identified with the reading of the Bible that to the Pentateuch the very name "Mikra," i.e. "the reading book," was given. The Bible was, in the true sense, the textbook of the people. In this sense our sages have interpreted the word that occurs in Nehemiah, and they state that Ezra read . . . "bamikra" "in the Law" (Meg. 3*a*).

It is interesting to follow up the use of the word Kara in the old Rabbinic literature, where we find it almost exclusively used for Bible-reading. When, however, the Mishna or the Oral Law is mentioned as being read, another verb was substituted; "tana" or "shana."* In Mishna Yoma I. 6 the word Kara is used to denote that the High Priest read the portion of the Bible, and it is said that, in case he did not know how to read, they taught him. Surely the High Priest could not have been an uneducated man: but though the Hellenising priests may have had a very good general Greek culture, they might not have been equally well versed in the Hebrew reading of the Law. In various parts of the Mishna (Meg. II. and III.) the very same verb is used for the reading of the Megillah—the Hebrew Scroll. The expression "keriat shema," the private recitation morning and evening of the three sections of the Bible known as Shema (Deut. VI. 4–9, XI. 13–24; Num. XV. 37–41), has become quite a technical term, and occurs ever so many times in this stereotyped form. It is unnecessary to multiply examples, for the word is never used in any other meaning throughout the Mishna and Talmud except for reading the Law in public as well as in private. To teach a man the Bible was called "makrē," which does not mean simply to teach him to read, but to teach him the Bible, as is made clear by Ned. IV. 3. The meaning of the word "mikra" was occasionally extended even to a small portion of the Bible, not an entire volume, but a text or portion of it (Sota IV. 2; Yeb. 11*b*), and in numerous passages the technical rule is laid down that no "mikra" loses its original meaning whatever another interpretation may put into it (Sanhed. 34*a*, 101*a*; Sota 14*b*, etc.). A Biblical scholar was called Kara, that is, the "read one" (Kiddush 49*b*). Hence the name of the Karaites, who call themselves Benē Mikra, the children, or faithful followers, of the Mikra. A man who calls himself Kara is a man who could read (i.e. he knows) the Law, the Prophets, and the Holy Writings. The development went even further, and a verse of the Bible was then called Kera, a thing or piece read. The original meaning of the reading had so entirely been forgotten that this name was applied to the verse. It is an alternate name for "katub," the latter derived from the root "katab," to write. Hence it often occurs in the Mishna and the Talmud. In the ancient exegetical rules (in the Boraitha), R. Ishmael uses this term exclusively to denote the verse. Kera as the "read" verse occurs in this meaning very often in the Talmudic literature (Berachot 2*a*; Sanhed. 45*b*, 71*a*; Moed. Ḳaṭ. 3*b*, etc.). This was the only name by which a verse of the Bible is described as such and quoted in the Mishna and in the Talmud. The application of the root Kara only and solely to the reading of the Law, is in itself a proof sufficient to show how universal the practice was. It is also of importance to notice here that Pasuk never means, or could mean, a verse in the Talmud. We shall presently deal with this expression, but for the time being it is sufficient to establish this practice of private reading and to show that it is very old, and that it had developed its own terminology differentiating its practice from any other reading or study. It was a devotional and didactic reading in the house, in the family, and in the school.

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* Cf. Ket. 17*a* of one who read the Bible and studied the Mishna; dekarē vetanē.

A statement in the Talmud makes it a law that a man is to finish his Parashiyot with the people, that is, he is to make his private reading concurrent with the public reading, not allowing the people to go ahead, but to keep pace with the public reading (Berachot 8*a*). We are also told that the teacher and the children may prepare their Parashiyot by lamplight (Tosefta Sabbath I. 12; Sabb. 13*b*), on which occasion the expression "Mesader Parashiyot" is used, which we must bear in mind. It shows that the pupils and teacher had to arrange their Parashiyot according to a definite order (Seder). We are told that R. Simeon ben Johai left no Parasha in the Torah which he had not studied (Sukka 25*a*). So important was the private reading of the Law that every man was expected to perform it every day, and to repeat the same blessing as when called up to read the Law in public. This practice has been retained to our very day. Small sections of the Law are read every morning, and the blessing is said in the earlier part of the daily service. A similar blessing is said on the Prophets when read as Haftarah. The oldest examples of these blessings are found when the High Priest read the Law to the people on the Day of Atonement (*v.* above). In order that the reading of the Holy Writings should not interfere with the reading of the Law and the Prophets and with the homiletical interpretation during the public worship, it was not allowed to read the Holy Writings during the Morning Service, or to meditate on them in the same manner. Yet in spite of this desire of keeping every part of the Bible in its proper place during the service, we find none the less that, whenever a man started reading the Holy Writings, he still was expected to say the blessing mentioned in Soferim XIII. 1. This principle of private devotion and of continuous reading of the Law had become more and more a universal practice. In the course of centuries it was extended from the Law proper to the Mishna and Talmud, and later to the mystical literature. The original short Maamadot, used only by the respective Mishmarot, became afterwards of general use, and the Maamadot already in the Siddur of Rav Amram* of the ninth or tenth century were extended over the seven days of the week, and additional pieces were added to them taken from the Rabbinical literature.

This was a natural development. As already remarked, the principle which underlies the development of Jewish history, liturgy, Law, etc., is to preserve the old and to build upon it, enlarging and developing. Nothing that once had been the possession of the people was discarded, but if circumstances changed it was put to a different use. The reading of the Bible had been, however, so engrained in the conscience and practice of the people, that it could only go on expanding and developing on the lines laid down by tradition and usage. Daily study and daily prayer went hand in hand, but study was considered superior. A Beth ha-midrash enjoined greater respect and greater sanctity than Beth ha-keneset—the school stood higher than the synagogue. "One may sell a synagogue to build a school, but one may not sell a school to build a synagogue." The mere study of the portions referring to sacrifices was equivalent to the bringing of them. Such is the Jewish Law. There is no need to dwell here on the deep attachment of the people to the practice which familiarised them with the contents of the Bible. In order to facilitate the understanding they did not shrink from adding the recital of the Targum—the lingua vulgare of the time. When that Targum or Aramaic translation became still more popular, and owing to the influence of Arabic domination was threatened with extinction, it also became somewhat of a holy language. This Targum developed later on into a more paraphrastic translation. The only points which I wish to note here are the slow expansion from translation into paraphrastic legend and homily, and the fact that each verse was read three times, twice in Hebrew and once in Aramaic. This recurrence of the figure three is very notable. It seems to play a very definite rôle in the history of the Bible in the synagogue. Not only is the Bible divided into three sections—the Law, the Prophets, and the Holy Writings—but the Bible is read by the Maamad three times daily. Each one reads at least three verses. The Bible is, moreover, read three times publicly during the week—on Saturday, Monday, and Thursday. Three persons are called up to the Law, representing the three divisions, Kohen, Levite, and Yisrael. Every verse must be read practically three times, twice in Hebrew and once in Targum. The Samaritans read their Parasha three times during the Sabbath—evening, morning, and midday (Ramsha, safra, and ṣehrem—this is their pronunciation of our sahoraim). One might mention here the repetition of Psalm CXLV. three times daily, not to speak of the thrice holy in the Kedushah.

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* *v.* Baer Abodat Israel Rodelheim, 1868, page 495 and note.

The private reading was certainly not limited only to the Law. It must have extended, in ancient times, over the whole of the Bible. It is quite true that in the public service, only the Law and the Prophets were allowed to be read; and nothing was allowed to intervene between these readings and the homiletic exposition which accompanied the reading: and with it, more or less, the service was brought to a close. It is for this reason that the Holy Writings were excluded; but we find that after Minḥa on the Sabbath it was allowed to read the Holy Writings. And, moreover, as mentioned above, a special blessing had to be said before the recital of these Writings. And this reading must have been half private, half public, more or less connected with the homiletical exposition in the afternoon, in which the Law, the Prophets, and the Holy Writings were equally represented. A Midrash has come down to us of uncertain date, though of late origin, called Agadat Bereshit, in which this threefold reading has been preserved. The book contains eighty-four chapters composed of groups of three paragraphs each, in which the text for the first of the groups is taken for the homiletical exposition from the Law, for the second from the Prophets, and for the third from the Holy Writings, mostly Psalms. Here we have a proof for the further development of private reading and homiletical exposition in conjunction with the public reading. To this very day a remnant of the practice has been preserved, at any rate in the Sephardic rite. On Sabbath afternoon, at the conclusion of the Minḥa Service, three verses are read from the Parasha of the next week, although a large section had been read out of the scroll during the service. It is thus practically repeated. Then three verses are read from the Prophets, i.e. from the Haftarah of next week, and from the Holy Writings Psalm CXXXIV. is recited; or instead, three verses from the Megillot before the seasons of the year on which these are read in full. Other verses, among them two doxologies, are recited before and after the reading. In olden times the Targum to these verses was also recited, which was later replaced by the Spanish translation of the Targum, thus giving it fully the character of the study combined with the homiletical interpretation by the Meturgeman.

When an equal position was granted to the Oral Law in private study and reading, the Rabbis enjoined that a man should divide his time into three sections, and he should devote one third to the Torah (Bible), another to the Mishna, and a third to the Gemarah (Kiddushin, 30). In accordance with this principle, even in our prayers the first part of the service is made to contain portions from the Torah, Mishna, and Gemarah, by which means we are fulfilling this command of daily study, and at the conclusion of this section we say the proper Kaddish de-Rabbanan. The preeminence given to three is seen also in the "threefold blessing" of the priests, which may have been the starting-point. But the people obviously never rested content with the obligatory public reading of the Law three times only during the week, and the system of daily private readings was slowly evolved. It is best seen in the subdivision of the Psalter into thirty daily sections. Further systems of reading had accordingly been arranged extending over the year in which the Pentateuch was to be read. It was subdivided into daily lessons. Such a system of reading—extending over the whole year, and following the order of the Parashiyot or weekly lessons, and containing portions from the Law, the Prophets, the Holy Writings, Mishna, Talmud, Midrash, and Zohar—has been elaborated by Portaleone in his *Shilte Haggibborim*, Part III, f. 133*b*–170*a*, for every night of the year; and in the Ḥoḳ Yisrael, by Ishak Barukh, each Parasha is so arranged in daily readings that it is completed in the week in complete accordance with the statement of the Talmud. Each day contains lessons from the Law, the Prophets (Hebrew and Targum), the Holy Writings, Mishna, Halakha, Zohar, and in later editions

Mussar, providing thus a complete cycle of lessons for every day of the year.

The private reading was not confined to the house. Reading and study go hand in hand, for it was a reading with the object of imbibing the eternal truths of the Holy Writ. The Bible formed the basis of all education, and what was done at home was merely a reflex of what was done at school or the continuation of the education. The daily lesson was given at school, whilst the daily reading was afterwards continued at home, and it must have been the endeavour of the teacher, as it has been for so many centuries, to keep pace at school with the service in the synagogue, and to teach the boys always the Parasha of the week, so that they might be well prepared to follow the reading in the synagogue and to benefit by the homiletical interpretation which followed the public reading. The weekly portion must therefore have been divided into smaller sections for each day of the week, coinciding more or less with the private reading. It would be difficult to establish exactly these divisions for the reading and study. The arrangements of Barukh and Portaleone are of too late a date, and seem to be of too artificial a character to be a guide for that purpose. We may be able to find some traces later on for some such division of a purely homiletical didactic nature not liturgical; but it is first necessary to establish the fact that in addition to the division into Parashiyot, there was also another division which respected and preserved the older division into small sections, but divided the text according to its own needs and for its own purpose.

A name has come down to us for such a division which has often been misinterpreted. I mean the name Piska or Pasuk, the former the Aramaic, the latter the Hebrew term. This name changed in the course of time according to the new practice to which it had been put owing to the development of the Massora. A new meaning had been given to it at a much later period, just as was the case with Perek and even with Parasha; and the word Pasuk was identified with "verse." It has been shown above that the real name for verse in the Talmudic period was Kéra or Katub. At a later time the word Pasuk, when its real meaning had been forgotten together with the use to which it had been put in the older schools, became obsolete, and, as it meant division, it was taken over by the Massorites to denote the verse. It cannot originally have meant "verse," because the Bible was not yet divided into Massoretic verses, and it is the exact word corresponding with the Samaritan Kissa, division or section. There are many indications that the original meaning of the word was a section. It would explain what has hitherto remained somewhat of a riddle, and which had been taken as a proof for the very great antiquity of the Massoretic division of the text into verses. When we find in the Talmud (Hag. 15*a*), or even later, that Aḥer the scholar, or Neron the Emperor, or Haman are said to have asked the boy coming home from the school to recite his Pasuk, hitherto translated verse, considering that the reply was seldom limited to one verse, and that the pupils were not expected to study in school only one verse during the day, the old interpretation cannot be correct; but if it is understood that the boy was to quote something out of the Piska, of the *section* or daily lesson which he had studied, the difficulty is removed. And again, the Pissuḳ taåmin mentioned in the Talmud, which has been taken to mean the division according to accents, though such accents had not yet been invented, will now be fully explained: for it means a division of the text according to its contents, according to the Taam, in complete agreement with the definition of the word "taam"—contents—used throughout in the Talmudic literature. This corresponds with the principle of the division of the Bible described before, guided by the "contents" of the text. We shall now better understand the meaning of Pesikta, to which reference has already been made above; and the reason why in some of the ancient Halahhic and Midrashic works the section finished with the words Seliḳ Pisḳa. This agadic interpretation refers not to one verse, but to the whole section, of which only the first verse is quoted.

From the minute examination of the word Seder and of the use of it from a palæographical and philological point of view, as well as from the relation between a supposed different division of the Law, called Sedarim, and the ancient Midrashim as well as from the practice and use of the synagogue, the house, and the school, it is evident that a division such as is identified with Sedarim did not exist up to a very late period. On the other hand, it is perfectly clear that the practice of private study and homiletic interpretation brought about a subdivision of the text quite independent of the liturgy and public reading. It is then, no doubt, and that at a very late period, that probably the word standing as a kind of abbreviation for Seder haparashiyot, the "order" of the Parashiyot, or Seder Hallimmud, the "order" of study, was used to denote these divisions of the text into three weekly portions. Such a division must have been originally identical with the Piska, but as that word had already assumed a different meaning, rather that of verse than section, the other short expression—Seder—probably took its place. This division for purely homiletical and didactic purposes is preserved more or less clearly in the Later Midrashim, such as Yelamdenu, Tanḥuma, and Rabbot. It must be clearly understood that though there is a close connection between these Midrashim and the subdivision or the larger subdivision of the weekly Parasha, that does not prove that it stood in any connection whatsoever with the public reading of the Law. It is obvious that the homiletical interpretation could not cover, in any one week, the whole of the weekly lesson. No preacher could explain more than one small text, and no audience could be found to listen to an exposition going on for hours. There is no Parasha in these Midrashim which it would not take a long time to read, and much more time would be required to fully expound and explain by word of mouth all that is condensed in the written record. A division of the material was an obvious necessity, and the agadist or the interpreter—the preacher—started as a rule from one of the smaller Parashiyot (the closed or open section) with which the Sedarim in most cases coincide. On other and rare occasions he started with a verse which is now marked as a Seder. Even as late a compilation as the Agadat Bereshit show still some independence of the division into Sedarim, for it just as often agrees with that division as it disagrees, and when it agrees in most cases "seder" and "parasha" are co-equal terms. The word seder or sedarim, therefore, denotes the agadic or didactic division of the Pentateuch. In fact, we find that the school is called Sidra, and the term in Leviticus Rabba, Resh Sidra, as head of the school, corresponding to the later Resh Metibta and Resh Kallah, fully bears out this interpretation. Looked upon from this point of view many of the difficulties which these Sedarim present, if taken as the weekly lesson, would instantly disappear. We shall then be able to understand better the peculiar discrepancy in the size of these Sedarim, to which reference has already been made. Why should certain Sedarim be limited to seven or eight verses and others be as long as two or three chapters? Then why should some of these Sedarim begin in the middle of a Parasha? It arises from the permission granted by the sages to the teacher to start his Piska, or Seder, wherever it suited him best, and as for the length, it will be observed that those chapters of the Bible which are either lessons for special Sabbaths, Festivals, or Holy Days, and therefore the subject of a special homiletical interpretation, e.g. the Pesikata, were no longer made the subject of the regular Sabbatical homiletical interpretation. The agadist could be satisfied to pass it over almost entirely, and the teacher could equally deal with it almost at one stretch, for these chapters were also the special readings in the service of the festive seasons. Other small chapters contain certain biographical details which became the centre and nucleus of a large cycle of legends. They stood by themselves, as it were, and a small section like that in Genesis XXII. would suffice for an agadist for more than one homily if necessary. It will be remembered that when discussing the Mechilta, I drew attention to the difference in the size of the various Masekhtot, some of which were very small. The principle in both cases is exactly the same. The explanation given for the difference in the size of the Sedarim holds good also for that of the Mekhilta, with which it runs parallel. We shall therefore be able to understand better the number of the Sedarim for the whole of the Bible: for they must be taken as a whole together. Unfortunately the divisions in the Midrashim of the prophetical books and of the Holy Writings seem to have been obliterated. In our manuscripts and printed editions they are made to coincide with the divisions of the Bible, even with the latest. Just as there is no fixed tradition about Parashiyot in the Prophets and Hagiographa, so there is no tradition affecting the Midrashim based upon these texts. But we cannot fail to recognise in the figures preserved to us as to the number of the Sedarim the same division of the whole Bible for a threefold weekly study as is preserved in the Agadat Bereshit. The whole of the Bible is divided into 462 Sedarim, that is three times three readings a week, each consisting of three portions, Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa. In this calculation, of course, we have to reckon also the Leap Years, which have four weeks more, and for which provision had to be made, hence the fluctuation in the number assigned to the Pentateuch. It will be found thus that the real origin of the Sedarim must be sought in the schoolroom rather than in the synagogue. With this agrees also the late appearance in our literature of the word Sedarim with this meaning, which owes, no doubt, its origin to the Massoretic School that was anxious to find a word to designate this general division of the whole Bible. The word then appears for the first time, as far as I have been able to trace it, in the treatise Soferim (XVI. 10). The connection in which it appears is highly instructive.

The incident related in the Jer. Talmud of Rab. Joshua b. Levi (*v.* above) finding in a book of Agadah that the Law was divided into 175 Parashiyot, is here repeated, but enriched by the additional words, "and for this reason we have fixed them as Sedarim." It was in a book of Agadah (i.e. of homilies) that R. Levi found the Law divided into 175 sections, and to these sections at a late period the name Sedarim was given. The whole rests on a homiletical and agadic incident, and the explanatory gloss in Soferim comes, no doubt, from the School of the Massorites. Another reference to the Sedarim is alleged to have been found in the passage in the Sheeltot, chapter I., and is contained, let it be noted, also in a legend or agadah referring to the punishment of the wicked in Gehinnom during the week. It is said that the Sabbath rest of the wicked finishes at a certain period "when the Israelites completed their Sedarim"; and this word has been taken to refer to the peculiar division of the Bible identified with that name. Any one who had glanced at the passage in the Sheeltot would have found that nothing could be stranger than such an interpretation; for the author continues to explain: "when the Israelites had reached the Sedarim of the going out of the Sabbath," meaning thereby the last verses of Psalm XC. and the whole of XCI., which precede the Kiddusha De Sidra, i.e. the Kiddusha in *Uba Le Sion.* But this legend does not stand alone. There are many parallels to it, one incomplete in Sanhed. 65*b*, another more complete in Tanḥuma Exodus Ki Tissa, paragraph 33, and a much more archaic and complete form in my Exempla of the Rabbis, No. xv., pp. 13 and 14, where the real translation of the passage reads: "when the Israelites finished the order (seder) of the service, including prayer, lessons, reading, and homilies." The reference to Job x. 22, taken from the Talmud Sotah 49*a*, is merely an allegorical interpretation, or a play upon words. The fact that this homiletical interpretation occurs already in the Talmud shows that there is not the slightest reference to any Bible lessons, and those who have based their argument on the Sheeltot have undoubtedly gone astray. It is not until we reach the En Hakoreh, a Massoretic grammatical treatise of the fifteenth or sixteenth century (South Arabian), that we find, and perhaps there alone, a clear identification of the title Sedarim with the division of the Bible in lessons arranged to suit a three-year cycle.*

A long space of time, however, had intervened between the Sheeltot and this other passage; and before leaving the historical investigation of the Sedarim it is worth while pointing out further changes which have taken place in the use of this term. It must be mentioned that Ben Asher, the famous Massorite, the author of the model codex on which Maimonides relied, who is also the author of the oldest Massoretic treatise, *Dikduke Hateamim*, does not use the word Sedarim, as, in fact, no one did until the time of the "En Hakoreh" and Jacob ben Ḥayim (sixteenth century). Meanwhile, a certain confusion had arisen through the promiscuous use of the various terms for denoting divisions of the Bible; especially when each of the seven portions of the weekly lesson was also called Parasha. This word, then, had a threefold or fourfold meaning: the general division according to subject; the small division into open and closed sections; the larger division into weekly lessons; and again, the small sections of the weekly lesson. The technical use in the legal compilations was reserved to the scholar, but for the popular use some arrangement had to be made, and whilst the Sephardim have kept the name Parasha for the weekly lesson, among other sections of the Jewish nation the name Seder or Sidra, practically an abbreviation of Seder Haparashiyot, became the common name for the weekly lesson. Parasha meant, then, each of the seven sections of the Seder, and to this day the Sedra is the only name by which the weekly lesson is known among the Ashkenazic Jewry.

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* I must add that I have searched in vain for the statement in the edition of Derembourg. I have not found the passage; only Ginsberg gives it in his Introduction to the Bible (page 32).

Before dealing with the supposed three-year cycle with which the Sedarim were alleged to have been identified or connected, it is advisable to recapitulate briefly the results which I have thus far obtained, for, if there is neither a palæographical trace of an ancient division of the Law into Sedarim, if there are no rules for the writing, if the name of Seder or Sedarim is on no occasion used in any other meaning but "order," especially "order of reading" and "order of study," if the ancient Midrashim were shown to be entirely independent of any such division agreeing with the Sedarim, if the division refers merely to the later practice of school reading and homiletical exposition, there is no room in the liturgy for such a division, and there has never been any connection between this division of a purely Massoretic and late origin with any public reading of the Law on Sabbaths and fixed seasons. Far from being an ancient division preceding that into weekly lessons, it was very late and of an ephemeral character. Nothing can therefore be based on this modern division to prove the existence of a three-year cycle, still less that it has ever been countenanced in Palestine over a large area, in great communities, and for a long period of time.

I turn now to the evidence which has been adduced to prove the existence of such a cycle. It will be found that there is only one reference in the whole of the Talmudic and Rabbinic literature to a supposed cycle of three years. In the Babylonian Talmud (Megilla 29*a*) a discussion is carried on as to the way in which the portion of Shekalim should be read at the beginning of the month of Adar. Rab. Tobi (Tobias) says the people of Maåraba (B'nei Maaraba) finish the Law in three years. It is doubtful whether Maåraba—as has hitherto been assumed—means always only Palestine and the whole of Palestine. The real meaning of the word is the "west," and it may just as well apply to any locality between Babylon and Jerusalem. It is well known that profound differences existed in many ways between almost every one of the large centres of Jews in these places, even between towns so close together as Sura, Pumpadita, and Nehardea. In Babylon itself various schools existed which differed on legal and, later on, on Massoretic questions, each one having its own teachings and traditions, even in matters Biblical. Equally profound are the differences between the various Massoretic schools in Galilee (Tiberius). The statement of Rab. Tobi is a mere *obiter dictum* of a man living at a great distance from Palestine. He himself may not have seen the practice at all, and he was telling it either from mere hearsay or in reference to one or another of those scattered Minhagim, which flourished so abundantly among the Jews of Palestine and Babylon. It was the very soil from which numerous Jewish sects sprung. They already existed there from olden times, and became more prominent later when the Karaite movement assumed such large proportions. We dare not, therefore, put into a single statement of this kind more than the author may have meant, as all the evidence adduced hitherto points to the contrary conclusion, and no other is found to support the first. Such an isolated statement is just as little proof for the general practice as, for example, the passage quoted by Muller (note 25 to Soferim x. 8), that according to the statement of "Rabbotenu Shebe-Maaraba," "seven or eight persons are sufficient for Minyan at Barekhu and Kaddish," a practice of which nobody has ever heard and of which no other trace is found. What is further very interesting is that even for this alleged three years' cycle there is no uniformity. According to the Hilluf Minhagim—a very late compilation of uncertain date—in which the differences between Babylon and Palestine are set down, it is expressly stated that they used to read the Torah not in three years, but in three and a half years, and that they celebrated Simḥat Torah on whatever Sabbath the finishing of the reading of the Law happened to occur. Moreover, it is stated that the custom of one village was not the custom of another village. This reminds one very strongly of the Mohammedan calendar, according to which the Ramadan is continually shifting through all the months of the year. The statement of a three and a half years' cycle runs counter directly to the statement in the Talmud, where Rab. Tobi speaks only of a three years' cycle, and let it be noted in addition that the mention of the three and a half years' reading dates probably from the ninth or tenth century, when almost every community was split up into warring sects, each with its own tradition and Minhag.

Thus far the three or three and a half years' cycle rests on doubtful references. The commentaries of Rab. Hananel and Rashi throw no further light on the passage in the Talmud. As commentators they merely endeavour to explain the meaning of the text without questioning its authenticity; but the words of Rab. Hananel are very instructive. He says that "they divide the weekly Parasha into three sections," and he uses the word "posekin," that is, they make three Piska (or Pisikata) of each portion. He does not mention Sedarim, and the actual division of the Sedarim certainly does not agree with such a division of the weekly lesson into three equal portions. The only one who refers to the practice more positively is Benjamin of Tudela, who says that in Cairo there existed two synagogues, one of the people of Palestine and one of the people of Babylon. The latter read the Law once during the year, and the other read it in three years, but on Shabuoth and Simḥat Torah the latter joined the former in the service in the synagogue. This is again a new version contrary to the Ḥilluf, and bearing out the peculiar vagaries of the Jewish communities at that time. Benjamin does not describe it as an eye-witness, he merely relates what he was told. I do not wish to imply that no such practice existed in a solitary synagogue. My contention is that it was only an isolated practice and certainly of a late date. It was not a generally recognised practice among the Jews of Palestine. This very statement of Benjamin proves it to have been a solitary instance, for Benjamin had just travelled throughout the length and breadth of Palestine. He describes the local customs very minutely and all the institutions he had visited. He is one of the oldest travellers who visited the Samaritans in Nablus, and gives us a vivid description of their synagogue and their life. If therefore it had really been a Palestinian custom he would have dealt at some length with it in his description of Palestine, or at least referred to it, and would not have mentioned it as a curiosity in one of the synagogues of Cairo. Cairo, it must be remembered, was the centre where many sects of Jews, Samaritans, Karaites, nondescripts lived together and often fought. No wonder if among them one synagogue existed with its own peculiar ways. But of how they divided and how they read the Bible no trace has been left.

Maimonides, who lived soon afterwards in Cairo, refers also to these customs rather contemptuously in Hilkut Tefilah, chapter XIII., paragraph 1, where he simply says—after stating that the annual cycle was the only established custom throughout Jewry—that there are some who read the Torah in three years, but this is not an accepted custom. He, of course, chronicled and tabulated whatever was found as a definite statement in the Talmud; but though he records it, he none the less adds to it the qualifying statement that it was not a Minhag Pashut. He, moreover, may have heard of it as a local custom in Cairo; he does not even refer to the place where it was done, and simply mentions it to condemn it. It is sufficient, then, to point to the way in which Abraham, the son of Maimonides, refers to the people who follow such a practice as ignorant, arrogant men who deliberately alter the Law.* We have reached now the last evidence, and the only one in which the Sedarim are mentioned in connection with this supposed three years' cycle—the reference in the En Haḳorēh. This is a grammatical treatise preceding some of the manuscripts written in Yemen.

A careful examination of the work will reveal the fact that the author shared in the veneration of Maimonides with the Jews of Yemen. He simply copies the word from Maimonides, and he uses the same vague phraseology ("there are some who read the Bible once in three years") without saying who these people were, without referring to Palestine as the home of this practice, without any hint as to how or where this practice obtained. He does not even mention Cairo, although the Jews in Yemen stood in close contact with the Jews of Cairo. Moreover, the Yemenite MSS., to which this treatise serves as an introduction, though they mark the Sedarim on the margin like so many other Massoretic signs, divide the text into perikopes in accordance with the annual cycle; and no notice is taken of any other reading of the Bible in any but the annual cycle through the rest of this Biblical treatise. It is clear that the author of the Ên Haḳorēh simply refers to the Massoretic notice, which he interpreted in his own way, forgetting that the rest of the Bible is also divided by the Massorites into Sedarim without any reference whatsoever to any liturgical purpose. Now this is the sum total of the entire tradition in the whole of the Jewish literature for the existence of the so-called three years' or three and a half years' cycle. We can see now that it may have been a custom practised in sporadic synagogues and among Jewish sectarians who flourished down to the thirteenth to fourteenth century. The so-called Zadokite documents, published recently by Dr. Schechter, in addition to the testimonies of Saadya in his Emunoth Ve-deoth and Shaharastani, give us an insight into Jewish sectarial life, of which those who believe that the development of Judaism has been running on smoothly like an undisturbed stream have scarcely been aware. To such a sect many vagaries may have commended themselves, but, basing our investigation upon the clear evidence of facts, there is not a single proof that a three years' cycle had even been the practice in Palestine, or that it had been known in antiquity. That the Bible had ever been divided to serve such a purpose is nothing but pure imagination, and the study of the Sedarim themselves disproves the possibility that they represent such a division used for liturgical purposes. The whole tradition is unanimous that the Law had been read once a year, that the basis of the weekly perikope rests upon a very old division of the text which has been retained throughout the ages. It has been preserved in the Hebrew, Greek, and Samaritan Bible, and the annual cycle is the only one recognised by Jews, Samaritans, Karaites, and Christians alike. Any deviation from this ancient and time-hallowed institution would be an arbitrary enactment, for which no justification can be claimed in tradition and practice.

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* *v.* Büchler in *J.Q.R.*, Vol. V, 1893, page 420.

Dr. M. Gaster.

Reviews of Books

Gaonica

Among the treasures the Cairo-Genizah has preserved for Jewish literature and history, not the least important are the fragments relating to the Gaonic times which Dr. Louis Ginsberg, Professor of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, published some time ago.* In the first volume Dr. Ginsberg gives us, practically, a history of the Gaonim, and shows that it would have been difficult to find any one more fit to do this work. He masters the Gaonic literature thoroughly, and so is able to derive important results from the newly discovered texts. His genius sometimes carries him too far, nevertheless. The first volume of this work reads like a charming tale full of new sidelights on the history of the Gaonim. The period of the Gaonate extends over four centuries from the death of the last of the Saboraim Gisa and Simuna (650) until the death of Hai Gaon (1038). The various phases of this period are discussed in thirteen chapters extending over sixty-nine pages; but, of course, historical facts are also found on every page of the second part of this work, which deals with the Halachic literature of the Gaonim (pp. 69–205). Whilst in Palestine the Nassi or Patriarch wielded temporal as well as spiritual power, in Babylonia these were vested in different persons. The Exilarch or Resh Gelutha was the lay head of the Jewish community possessing the powers of a ruler, whilst the spiritual leaders were the heads of the two Academies, Sura and Pumbeditha.† There was an Academy also in Palestine called Beth Havaad, but that was not so much exclusively a seat of learning as also a court of justice, a successor to the Synhedrim. The Babylonian schools were more dependent on learning. The schools being in a way rivals, it depended on the learning of the presiding chief which Academy enjoyed supremacy. These Academies were already in existence in Talmudic times, but whilst they were, then, only gathering places for scholars, during the Gaonate the Academies grew in power, conferring dignity upon the presiding officer. After the Amoraim and Saboraim, the heads of these Academies were called the Gaonim. Ginsberg rightly asserts that, while in Talmudic times every scholar of repute was mentioned in connection with the Academies, after 640 the head of the Academy, the Gaon alone, signed a Responsum issued by the Academy and no one else, not even the third in rank, the Resh Kalla. He proves this by one of the newly discovered texts (*Gaonic Studies*, p. 31), where a Gaon—probably Natronai—says "that he (a Rabbi) did not write you regarding this question, is due to the circumstance that he was not the head (of the Academy) but only the Resh Kalla."* After proving that the Gaonate was also nearly hereditary like the Exilarchate, we hear that the Gaon received a fixed salary for his personal use, and Nathan Hababli informs us that Babylonia and adjacent countries were divided into three parishes, those under the jurisdiction of the Exilarch and the two Gaonim respectively, and these parishes each paid taxes to the dignitary under whose jurisdiction they were. There are several passages in the Talmud referring to the taxes levied by the Patriarchs, but I could not trace Ginsberg's reference to Gittin 60*b* (p. 38). Likewise could I not find any ground for his anger against Halévy imputing that this author in his *Doroth Harishonim* "accuses R. Ashi of highway robbery, if it would be true that he transferred two-thirds of the revenue for the Academies to Sura." Halévy (III, p. 263) does not say that this division dates back to Talmudic times. What he says is, that according to Nathan the Babylonian's report (in Mebo Hatalmud), this unequal distribution was *at first* in use until the time of Kohen Zedek Gaon, who divided it equally between the two Academies after a dispute which arose between the scholars of these Academies: Halévy means in early Gaonic, but not Talmudic times. Of great interest for the question of the contributions for the maintenance of the Academies is a letter published from the Genizah by Dr. Cowley in *I. Gn. R.* XVIII, where the writer in the name of the Academy of Pumbeditha, in the year 953, applies for help to some one in Spain. For two years they had received no more contributions from them (Spain), and the disputes that had arisen had brought them down to a very low and depressed state. All the provinces and countries from which they used to receive contributions and help had ceased to give them any, and lastly the writer—who, according to Eppenstein,* was the Gaon or at least some scholar of high standing—asks for a considerable donation for himself, " as he used to do for his (the writer's) ancestors." Ginsberg (p. 7, note 1) identifies the writer of this letter with Rabbi Hezekiah ben Shamuel, grandson of Rabbi Paltoi, mentioned in *Gaonic Studies*, p. 59. We see that in later times at least these contributions were voluntary, while in early Gaonic times the Exilarch and Gaonim had a right to impose taxes.

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* *Gaonica*, by Louis Ginsberg: I. The Gaonim and their Halachic Writings. II. Genizah Studies. New York, 1909.

† According to Halévy (*Dor.*, III, 179 ff.) stating already from 589, the year of the foundation of the Academy in Pumbeditha by R. Chanau of Iskua.

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* The next in rank after the Gaon was the head judge, Ab Beth-Din. After him were seven Reshe Kalla and three Chaverim (Graetz, V, 129).

In the following chapter Ginsberg refers to the friction between the Exilarchs and Gaonim. There were, for instance, the differences between Natronai Gaon and the Exilarch (719); Achai Gaon and the Exilarch of his time (755); the more important dispute (in 771) between Malka Gaon and the Exilarchs Natronai b. Habibai and Zakkai b. Hunai. This is important not only for the fact that according to Graetz (*Gesch.*, V, 386) and to Weiss (*Dor-Dor ve Doreshaw*, IV, 29), Malka Gaon had the power and influence to depose the Exilarch (Natronai), a similar incident to which is only once again repeated, namely, in the dispute between Kohen Zedek and the Exilarch Ukba—but also because the reports about it are not quite clear. Sherira's report in his letter (W. Goldberg, 36, 4) is taken by Graetz in the sense that Rabbi Malka deposed Natronai, who was about to usurp the Exilarchate from Zakkai. Weiss reads it: that Malka deposed Natronai and made Zakkai Exilarch, while Halévy says that the Academies, and not the Gaonim Malka and Haninai, deposed Natronai. Ginsberg wonders that Halévy " makes a long tirade against the German scholars, although in the end he (Halévy) agrees with Graetz that Malka deposed Natronai because he wanted to usurp the dignity from Zakkai." Halévy agrees with Graetz only on the point that Zakkai had been in office for some time before the dispute, but not that Malka alone deposed Natronai. Halévy maintains the Academies themselves did that, and remarkably enough, that is practically the conclusion to which Ginsberg arrives in the end, namely, that the two Academies deposed Natronai. Ginsberg adds, however, that the Academies did this in opposition to Malka. There is, I think, not sufficient proof for that, in the passage of Sherira 38, 11, although the dispute appears much clearer in that light. Other disputes recorded are between the Exilarch and the Gaon Haninai b. Abraham in 782; the case of the two pretenders to the Exilarchate, Daniel and David, who each wanted their own Gaon (828), and lastly the dispute between Saadjah and David b. Zakkai.

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* See his *Beiträge in Monatschrift*, 1911, p. 329.

Nathan Ha-Babli is cited in Zaccuto's Jochasin as the source of several historical passages. The problem as to who was Nathan Ha-Babli has been an object of research not only with Graetz, but also with other scholars. Ginsberg tries to identify him with the Nathan of Africa mentioned in the Responsa of Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg. He does not, however, explain sufficiently why R. Meir should call him "of Africa" and not "the Babylonian." We know of five scholars of the name Nathan in the period in question:

1. Nathan of Narbonne, the author of the Aruch identified with "Nathan Ha-Babli" by Graetz, V, 471 ff.
2. Nathan the son of Isaac according to Yochasin and an Arabic Genizah fragment, the source of the accounts in Yochasin.
3. Nathan of Africa (Resp. Meir Rothenburg, quoted also by Aaron of Lunel, Orchoth Chayim II. 333).
4. Nathan b. Chananja (Or Zarua I. 176*b*, referred to by Müller Maftëah, p. 157).
5. Nathan Aluf or Nathan ben Jehuda, the uncle of Sherira Gaon.

Ginsberg tries to identify this Nathan Ha-Babli with Nathan of Africa, and criticises Müller's attempt to identify him with Nathan Aluf. Müller reads the passage in Or Zarua (I. 176*b*) "Abi Chananjah" instead of "Bré de R. Chananja," to which Ginsberg objects, questioning, "What reason can there be for designating the son and brother of a Gaon as the brother of his brother, instead of in the universal way as the son of his father?" But Müller has every reason for doing so. The first reason which Ginsberg himself has for saying that Nathan Ha-Babli was Nathan of Africa is his identity with one of the Nathans known to us from other sources. The second reason which Müller has for his correction is that we know Sherira's uncle was Nathan Aluf, and that the Or Zarua calls this uncle Nathan b. Jehudah. It must strike everybody as very probable that if we find a Responsum by a Nathan son of Chananja Gaon, it must be a misprint, and should read, son of Jehudai Gaon, as we know that a Nathan was an uncle of Sherira. Why, then, does Ginsberg object to this emendation? What is more likely than that Sherira used in his letter the reports of his uncle, and that Nathan Ha-Babli was Nathan b. Jehuda, brother of Chananja Gaon and uncle of Sherira. We are thus obliged to say that Ginsberg does not prove his case when identifying him with Nathan of Africa.

This Nathan reports about the Babylonian Academies, and his report is cited by Zacuto and also in Shamuel Hanagid's Introduction to the Talmud. Graetz says that Jochasin took it from a report by Nathan, while Halévy considers Shamuel Hanagid as the source of Jochasin. Ginsberg persuasively shows us that originally there must have been a chronicle or narrative by Nathan Ha-Babli, and that this was the source of both Yochasin and Mebo Hatalmud. Likewise, against Halévy's view, he proves the supremacy of Sura even in Gaonic times. In an erudite note of considerable length, he proves that "The house of our teacher in Babylon" was the building of the Academy of Rab, which became afterwards a synagogue, and did not mean the Sura Academy as such (p. 47 ff.).

The next chapter deals with the title Gaon, and we hear, what already Graetz had pleaded, that this title was originally a prerogative of Sura only, while the next heading is devoted to the origin of the Gaonate, where Ginsberg adopts Graetz's view that it originated under the Calif Ali. Dealing with Nathan's report about the dispute between Kohen Zedek and Ukba, Ginsberg believes the dispute was originally not with Ukba, who was a relative of Kohen Zedek, but with the Exilarch David. Ukba appointed Kohen Zedek as Gaon, against Mebasser, whom the Academy appointed. When Ukba was exiled, Kohen Zedek refused to recognise David as Exilarch. Ginsberg solves the difficulty of the difference between Sherira's and Nathan's accounts by deleting the word "David" from Sherira, and says the first Exilarch mentioned as choosing Kohen Zedek for the office of Gaon was not David, but Ukba. Thus he seeks to harmonise the accounts. The "other possibility," viz. that the word "Uncle" had been eliminated by the copyist, and that the original had been "דוד דוד" "The Uncle of David" (referring to Ukba) sounds too romantic, and could only have sprung from as ingenious a mind as Prof. Ginsberg's. To accept this, we not only have to suppose that the copyists altered the text, but also that Sherira would call Ukba, instead of by his own name, by that of "The Uncle of the Exilarch David." It is more likely that Sherira had the right version from Nathan, who, we said, was his uncle, than did Yochasin, who wrote centuries later. Nathan's account may have had simply "Nassi" without mentioning the name of the Exilarch, and the word Ukba may be a later addition. The story of the dispute would accordingly be as Sherira, in Filipowski's edition, has it: "The Academies had a dispute with the Exilarch (David). They called Rab Mebasser the Cohen, son of the Gaon Kiyumi, to be Gaon. David the Exilarch, however, called the Cohen Rab Kohen Zedek, son of Rab Josef, and the dispute lasted until 233 (SEL. E.=922 C.E.), and then was peace established between David and Mebasser, but Kohen Zedek and his followers kept apart until the death of Mebasser in 237, when his followers joined Kohen Zedek. The disagreement between Nathan and Sherira would then only be the date of Rabbi Jehudah's death, and to solve this Ginsberg rightly suggests to read כמו שנה=about a year, instead of כמ שנה=*ca.* forty years.

The predecessor of Saadjah Gaon is mentioned in Sherira's letter as " Yom Tob ben Jacob," and by Nathan as " Amram ben Solomon." Ginsberg is of the opinion that this Gaon went by two names, but forgets to mention that already Graetz (V, 263, note 5) mentions this (referring to *Frankel Monatschrift*, 1857, p. 343) as the only possible solution of the difficulty. Ginsberg, however, goes further, and gives us in a footnote what we can term an agadic " Wörtchen." The " Rissa Rav," he says, calls his father " Moshe," and also Jacob Moshe. Is that not a striking comparison ? Ginsberg says in addition that, of course, he may have received the second name during a severe illness by שילוי השם; but why, then, bring it up altogether ? Likewise all the other examples which Ginsberg cites will convince no one that Yom Tob is equal to Amram, and Jacob to Solomon. Sar Shalom shortened to Shalom, or Tabyomi to plain " Mar," are not to be compared with it. We can only state the fact of this contradiction in the two reports briefly, as Graetz has done, and wait for new discoveries which might throw light upon this question.

The second part of the book deals with the Halachic literature of the Gaonim. The Sheëltot of Rabbi Aḥa occupy the author's attention, and we learn that the intention of Rabbi Aḥa was to make the Babylonian Talmud known in Palestine. For this reason he continually cites this work, the knowledge of which he brought with him from Babylonia, and hardly mentions the Jerusalem Talmud. This is also proved from Genizah fragments in Vol. II, p. 354 ff., from which Ginsberg concludes, that in addition to what is known to us from the Sheëltot there was also another part, the " Derasha " attached to each Sheëlta, which consisted, practically, of extracts from the Babylonian Talmud.

That Rabbi Jehudai was the author of the original Halachot Gedoloth is also proved by a Genizah fragment (Vol. II, p. 85 ff.). The Halachot Gedoloth of Rabbi Simon Kahira are only an amplification of it. The purpose of Rabbi Jehudai was to codify the traditional law and distinguish it from the Karaite Law. A considerable part of the book (pp. 119–51) is devoted to the Siddur of Amram Gaon, but contains little that is new, except the valuable comparisons of the printed text with two unpublished MSS., those of Oxford and the Sulzberger Collection. Important is the conclusion arrived at, that the text of the prayers was altered frequently by the copyists, while the Halachic part nearly remained without any corruption or alteration. The reason given is, that the real intention of the work was the Halachic teachings it contained. The last chapters of the book are devoted to Saadja's importance in Halachic literature, and to anonymous codes from the Gaonic time.

Dr. Ginsberg has given us, by the publication of these two volumes, a valuable contribution to Jewish literature. The period of the Gaonim is one which still leaves ample opportunities for Jewish scholars. The Responsa which are contained in the various editions of the *Teshuboth Haggaonim* deserve to be further investigated in their Halachic and historical points, and the author has shown to us that we can expect a great deal from him in this direction. The recognition of the importance of Jewish knowledge is the spirit which inspires Ginsberg, and is expressed in his own words (on p. 3), which deserve to be noted: "Since the destruction of the Jewish State it has been Jewish knowledge that has kept Jews together, though they were scattered over all the continents."

CHARLES DUSCHINSKY.

The Ezra-Apocalypse. By the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A., Lecturer in Rabbinical Hebrew, King's College, London. pp. lxxvii–387. Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., 1912. 10s. 6d. net.

THE previous learned writings of Mr. Box had led us to expect much when a new book issues from his pen. Our expectations are not belied by the valuable volume now before us. The first and most pleasant duty of a reviewer is to congratulate the industrious author upon the production of a work which is invaluable as illustrating how the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical books should be edited. For the first time we have one of these books edited by a scholar who possesses a first-hand acquaintance with Rabbinic literature. Without this equipment it is quite impossible to do justice to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

Mr. Box has at his command the entire literature on his subject, and he has made excellent use of the labours of his predecessors. We have marshalled before us the brilliant work done by Kabisch, Violet, Gunkel, and the other eminent scholars who have worked so assiduously in this field. An interesting Preface (and criticism) from the pen of Professor Sanday gives a hearty "send-off" to Mr. Box's volume. The Professor disagrees with Mr. Box on the question of the sources of the Ezra-Apocalypse. Mr. Box, under the lead of Kabisch, has made out a good case for the view that the book is a compilation made by an editor from different sources. The present writer is inclined to believe that Mr. Box has not gone far enough in one important matter in this connection. He has not considered at all the probability of Christian interpolations in the Ezra-Apocalypse. We must bear in mind that the Synagogue deliberately rejected the entire Apocalyptic literature. This literature was preserved by the Christian Church, and it must not surprise us if Christian influence from the earliest times was brought to bear on this literature. This fact, too, must be borne in mind in discussing the Messianic terminology of 4 Ezra. Mr. Box rightly points out that the "explicit title of the Messiah as God's Son occurs in our Book for the first time in Jewish literature, with the exception of 1 Enoch CV. 2, which, however, is probably an interpolation" (p. liv). It seems that Mr. Box might have discussed whether we have not also an interpolation in Ezra wherever the Messiah is designated "my Son." In all there are six passages where this title occurs. The first two passages are attributed by Mr. Box to the Redactor (R), whose work was done "about 120 C.E.," or "it may have been (done) somewhat later" (p. xxxiii). The Redactor left his work in Hebrew, which has been lost. Within a few years it was translated into Greek, possibly by a Christian, and this translator may have slightly modified his original in accordance with his religious standpoint. Just as 1 Enoch was subjected to Christian interpolation—and we know that Josephus and other writers had their works subjected to a like process—why should it be assumed that 4 Ezra escaped this "editorial" treatment? The point is of the greatest significance, and the final word has yet to be said on this problem.

Let us turn to the passages VII. 28, 29 just referred to as belonging to (R). The preceding verse runs: "And whoever is delivered from the predicted evils the same shall see my wonders. (28) For *my Son* the Messiah shall be revealed, together with those who are with him, and shall rejoice the survivors four hundred years. (29) And it shall be, after these years, that *my Son* the Messiah shall die, and all in whom there is human breath." If the words "my Son" were omitted the sense would be unaltered. The Church actually did manipulate this passage. The Latin MSS. and Ambrose read, "(28) For *my Son* Jesus shall be revealed." The Ethiopic version has only "my Messiah," and the Arabic (2) reads "the Messiah," whilst the Armenian has "the Messiah of God." In other words, the majority of the versions do not have "my Son." If "Jesus," to quote Mr. Box's words, is "an obvious Christian correction," so likewise it seems probable that the title of "my Son" is to be explained in the same way. In the next verse (29) we again have "my Son the Messiah." The Ethiopic version has "my Servant the Messiah." Here also the original reading may have been "my Messiah," or quite possibly "my Servant the Messiah." This term would be naturally used by a Jewish writer.

The next passage where "my Son" occurs is in XIII. 32, which Mr. Box (p. 294) considers to belong to a passage interpolated by (R). The original might have been "my Servant." This suggestion may also apply to the reading "my Son" in verse 37.

In XIII. 52 we have "even so can no one upon earth see my Son." The Arabic (1) version renders as follows: "even so can no one upon earth see the secret of my Son, because his works are wonderful." The verse has undoubtedly been subjected to editorial revision, since we read in the Latin version, "even so can no man upon earth see my Son, or those that be with him." The heavenly companions of the Messiah mentioned here occur again in the passage already discussed (VII. 28) and recall the "saints" or "angels" who are to appear (according to the New Testament) with Christ at his parousia. The last passage we have to consider is XIV. 9, where we meet with "my Son." The Arabic (2) has again "my Servant." In any case, the variant readings should make one very cautious in arguing that 4 Ezra originally spoke of the Messiah as God's Son.

Mr. Box has a good deal to say on the subject of the pre-existence of the Messiah. It is, however, a mistake to say that according to the Talmud (p. 9) the Messiah was created before the world. The Talmud only says that the *name* of the Messiah was pre-mundane. It cannot be asserted that the Talmud (T. B. Pesachim, 54*a*, T. B. Nedarim, 39*b*) teaches the *personal* pre-mundane existence of the Messiah (see also p. 196). This idea arose in Alexandrian circles and can be seen in the LXX.

Mr. Box is at his best in illustrating the Apocalypse by Rabbinic parallels. He is generally inclined to adopt the ingenious theories of Rosenthal, who argues that our book is a production of the school of Jamnia, especially of that section led by the Shammaite Eliezer b. Hyrqanos. It is impossible to discuss here the arguments of Rosenthal. It must suffice to point out that there is little or no justification for most of his theories. Thus he argues that R. Eliezer believed in the inevitable sinfulness of the whole human race, because the Rabbi quoted the text (Eccles. VII. 20): "Surely there is not a righteous man upon the earth that doeth good and sinneth not." Mr. Box seems to agree with this view (p. lxii f., where the reference to T. B. Sabbath 101*a* should be T. B. Synhedrin 101*a*), and adds: "and on this ground taught that even the patriarchs themselves, if judged strictly, could not have survived the test of God's judgment." Now there is not the slightest suggestion in the whole of the Talmudic literature that the patriarchs were tainted with Adam's sin. The Rabbis (Cant. Rab. I. 3) admit that the patriarchs were not perfect men, but their sin was due entirely to their own weakness. It cannot, therefore, be admitted that "R. Eliezer held a view about inherited sinfulness (from Adam) akin to that of Salathiel in our Apocalypse" (p. lxiii). Thus far it has not been proved that R. Eliezer b. Hyrqanos held any marked Christian doctrines, nor that he or his school had any influence in the composition of our Apocalypse.

Many of the discussions (e.g. on the Jezer Hara, p. xl, notes *d*, p. 75 f., *m*, p. 77 f., and *l*, p. 179 among others) are exceedingly valuable, and will deepen the interest of students in Rabbinic literature. Mr. Box had anticipated the ingenious discovery of Simonson that a Midrash is incorporated in 4 Ezra VII. 132–40. Mr. Box is well versed in modern Jewish books (e.g. Büchler, Bacher, Schechter, and the *Jewish Encyclopædia*). In spite of his deep reading an error here and there is inevitable. On p. 155 we read that the "Qaddish prayer is to be recited during the *twelve* months" after the death of parents. This should be rectified, as the Qaddish is recited eleven months only. Again, p. 209, orthodox Jews are said to reckon as *half-fasts* the three weeks (Tammuz 17th to Ab 9th, both days included), "the eating of meat and the drinking of wine alone being forbidden." This is misleading, as Jewish practice knows of no "half-fasts" limited in this manner. A final instance must suffice—is it true, even though Gunkel says so, that in later Judaism, "in Heaven, as applied to God, is an expression of God's transcendence"

(p. 177)? Jesus also spoke of "Our Father *in Heaven*," and did this involve the idea of God's transcendence?

It is gratifying to find Mr. Box referring to the Messiah in Philo (p. 290). It would have been possible in many directions to increase the Rabbinic parallels. Thus iv. 23: "For I meant not to ask about the ways above," might be illustrated by the famous passage in T. B. Chagiga 11*b*, where we read: "It would have been better for him who speculates as to what is *above* the universe . . . if he had never been born." The Hebrew type is not of the best (cf. pp. 48, 80, 96 f.), otherwise the book is very clearly printed. The index is full and useful. Our best thanks are due to Mr. Box for his fine volume, he has laid us all under a deep debt of gratitude for work well done and by the promise of more work to come. The first-fruits are the token of the harvest.

GERALD FRIEDLANDER.

The Promised Land. By Mary Antin. Wm. Heinemann, 1912.

THIS book is the revelation of the soul of a Jewish immigrant in America. Mary Antin is the spokeswoman for thousands who, escaping from the darkness of the Ghetto into the sudden blaze of American enlightenment, have lived similar lives and thought the same thoughts, but less intensely, less deeply. The book thrills with life; it is written in exaltation by one who feels she has come into her own; who yearned for light and freedom in a Russian Ghetto, and has found what she sought in the democracy of America, by identifying her life with the lives of great American patriots, her soul with the ideals of the New World. "My chief ambition in life has been *to live*," she says, and she has discovered that "to be alive in America is to be on the central current of the river of life"; her American citizenship is the symbol for everything noble, true, and progressive. We may disagree profoundly with her conclusions, but we can follow the line of thought which led her to them: the book grips and fascinates, compelling our sympathy, holding our interest by the conviction with which it is written. From the very first words we are enthralled in the narrative, we share the writer's own wonder at the romance and adventure of her life; we follow eagerly the tale of her inward life, recognising our own in it; her early dreaming and passionate allegiance to Judaism, her search for truth, her revolt against tradition. In the introduction the writer compares herself to the Ancient Mariner who has to tell his tale to be rid of it. It is a good comparison, and we, the readers, are like the wedding guest who cannot choose but hear, held by the spell of her pen. There are passages in the book which might savour of bombast and excess of sentiment, if torn from their context, but which cease to repel us when read in the light of her own enthusiasm. Mary Antin is an extremist and a nationalist. To be an American citizen means to her not only to receive, but to give. To give one's life for one's country is the highest duty of the citizen: she gives herself wholly to America. The lively, passionate child of the Russian Ghetto had never known what it was to have a country; the Russian flag was the emblem of tyranny and slavery, the national aspirations of the Prayer Book mere dreams and phantoms. What more natural, then, than that, "set down in a land of outspoken patriotism, she was likely to love her new country with a great love, and to embrace its heroes in a great worship"? America comes to her with open hands, she sees what a real thing its freedom is; she is passed on from hand to hand by ready teachers; "through free libraries and lecture halls, inspired by every occasion of civic consciousness; welcomed at a hundred open doors of instruction; seeking in American minds the American way and finding it in the thoughts of the noble." She looks for a moment at Jewish nationalism, and it seems to her a thing of a past age, a phantom without reality. She never hesitates which to choose. She early makes up her mind that Judaism is the "study of pictures of things," and that America means "contact with real things themselves."

Once in America no fine Jewish influences came to bear on her life; her father, teachers, friends all speeded her in her race for Americanisation. Her book, then, is a record of one who has found her salvation in complete assimilation, and she speaks, as she herself says, "for thousands." That is the pity of it, but the pity is hidden in the joy of it, and whichever way Mary Antin came by her salvation we must be glad, because she has given the world and us a great book.

It is not the first time that assimilation has been urged as the only solution of the Jewish question, nor is America the only country which has been mistaken by the Jews for the Promised Land. But the interest and value of this book consist in this, that we are made to feel that the complete absorption of the Jewish immigrant into America is not only possible, but inevitable, unless Jewish nationalism is made a real thing, and not a phantom. We are brought up violently against the old problem, and it becomes more and more clear that unless we make a

Promised Land of our own we shall lose all our most ardent, generous spirits.

If we do not follow the writer in her adoption of America as the Promised Land, in her rejection of Moses in favour of George Washington, it is because we know that this is no solution of the Jewish question. And by the challenge in the name of the book and over and over again in its chapters, we feel that Mary Antin thinks she has found the solution. She has found it, but at the cost of renunciation of all Judaism, and she writes the book now because the agony of Judaism sometimes returns, and she must tell her tale to be rid of it.

"I want to forget—sometimes I long to forget. I think I have thoroughly assimilated my past—I have done its bidding—I want now to be of to-day. It is painful to be consciously of two worlds. The Wandering Jew in me seeks forgetfulness." And later in the book: "Perhaps my grandchildren may have to testify that the faith of Israel is a heritage that no heir in the direct line has the power to alienate from his successors."

Even for Mary Antin we suspect that assimilation is not a complete solution. Something in her died in the violent upheaval that preceded her rebirth as an American citizen, and the ghost of it returns and torments her. The book ends in a pæan of exultation. "The endless ages have indeed throbbed through my blood, but a new rhythm dances in my veins. . . . The past was only my cradle, and now it cannot hold me because I am grown too big. . . . No! it is not I that belong to the past, but the past that belongs to me. America is the youngest of the nations, and inherits all that went before in history. And I am the youngest of America's children, and into my hands is given all her priceless heritage. Mine is the whole majestic past, and mine is the shining future."

Does this ring quite true when brought up against that "I want to forget"? Where is the true Mary Antin speaking?

But enough of controversy. Every one will read the book, and every one will form his own opinion as to the conclusions at which it arrives. Of the book itself, as a piece of literature, as a page of history, there cannot be two opinions. It is a masterpiece of literary art and of self-revelation. As a picture of Jewish life in the Ghetto it equals anything Zangwill has ever written. If less imaginative, it is a more intense personal record than *The Children of the Ghetto*, which in many ways it supplements. It is strange that a story so familiar to all of us should appeal to us with such force. We knew it all before, but until this book came, we did not feel it. The words seem to burn on the page, and we are warmed by some of the glow with which they issued from the author's heart and brain. Finally we can apply the supreme test of a book's value, and it will not be found wanting. "The true question to ask," says Walt Whitman—the true question to ask respecting a book, is "*Has it helped any human soul?*" Mary Antin is by every sign of internal evidence a spiritual child of Walt Whitman. Judged by his standard, and there could be no truer one, her book must be pronounced a work of the first class, great as a work of art, great in its capacity to free and enlarge the minds and arouse the sympathy of its readers.

M. B.

Pogrom. Von Ellegaard Leisner und Ellerbeck. Illustrated by Kurmerker. Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag. M. 3 and M. 5.

This book presents a picture of the pogroms as they are promoted and carried through against the Jews in Russia. The introductory portion gives a survey of the pogrom: the secret and overt agitation; a description of the Jewish homes, the rabble, the destruction, and the murder; the murder of the men, the murder of the women, the murder of the aged, the murder of the children. The historical portion of the book gives an abstract from the material collected in the Report on the Pogroms published by the Ations-Comité of the Zionist movement, some typical instances being quoted. What appears most striking is the information about the social classes from which the pogrom "heroes" were drawn. Instead of finding, as we would expect, that they belonged to the lowest classes of the population, we find representatives of all classes among them. Priests, police, and soldiers were found at the head of the murdering crowds. The whole garrison is said to have been engaged in the murderous business at Kiew, with a General in parade uniform giving orders. However, much remains dark about the history of the pogroms; it seems clear that the whole movement would have been impossible were not the influence of the State on its side. The result of this battle against defenceless Jews, of which the enemy was able to boast, was nine hundred dead, over six thousand wounded and maimed, numbers outraged, over thirty thousand families ruined, over a quarter of a million persons plundered and robbed, over three and a half million pounds sterling lost. Such is the sad story which this book describes.

Vox Humana. By Naomi Nunes Carvalho. pp. 157. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1912.

We are much indebted to Mrs. Naomi Carvalho for a little book of dialogues in which the heroes and heroines of the Bible and of Greek history are invested with fresh life and cease to be figures of the past. Many of us get used to the great names, Abraham, Miriam, David, Homer, and Plato, much as we get used to the pictures with which we have grown up, and forget to look into their frames; but there comes a time when eye, ear, and soul are all eager for the search after beauty and truth; and then we sometimes find it behind the old frames, and the figures seem of a sudden to come to life, and think and feel. From this hour we date the beginning of our understanding. Naomi Carvalho has experienced this moment, and she has found the living beauty and truth she sought in the old-fashioned way after all—through the heroes of the Old Testament and the authors of the classics. The discovery delights her, and with enthusiasm she sets out to take the great ones from their pedestals and make them feel, act, and do as the people of to-day. This she does in a score or so of short dialogues between Terah and Abraham, the King of Moab and a Scribe, David and a Counsellor, Ezekiel (the Hellenistic-Jewish dramatist) and an Athenian actor, Sappho and a poetess, etc. She succeeds in brushing away the dust of ages, and she realises in each the human being, the man and woman; swayed by the same emotions, taunted by the same temptations, as modern men and women, yet typifying some eternal lesson. "The types I have chosen to present," she says, "are drawn from those two nations whose greatest praise must be that their literature has survived the loss of their nationality: who have this in common, that through them the human voice spoke forty centuries ago, near the olive groves of Judea and of Greece, as it is speaking among us to-day . . . whose literature is fundamentally safe because of their clear-sighted concept of life as acceptance of facts subordinated to a higher need."

The Bible and the classics have a new influence when we realise "the note of vibrating personality" sounding in every line, when we connect these personalities with our own and see in them the relationship of man to man. The mass of men and women never find the golden key, but in every epoch Providence has given it to a few to despise Pharaoh; to know Moses and Isaiah, to feel them standing at their sides, warming their hearts to right action, guiding them along the highway. It is these few who have handed down to us the world's greatest treasures, and the future generation will possess them, thanks to those who have felt them thus deeply in each succeeding age. Especially suggestive are the dialogues at the end of the little book where the authoress brings before us the Alexandrian writers who sought to fuse Hellenism and Hebraism, but in vain. Into the mouth of the tragic poet Ezekiel she puts her judgment on that attempt. The feud "does and must exist! You cannot reconcile spiritual faith with pagan beauty, passionate longings with sunny satisfaction. We thought to fuse the best of the Hellenic with the best of the Hebraic thought, with the result that our thought is imitation Greek, our spirit imitation Hebrew." We hope that Naomi Carvalho will not be content with "vignettes," as she calls them; for her sketches reveal flashes of insight and a gift of expression that promises bigger things.

The History of the People of Israel in Pre-Christian Times. By Mary Sarson and Mabel Addison Phillips. With a Preface by the Rev. A. A. David, D.D. pp. 356. Longmans, Green and Co., 1912. 4s. 6d.

THE distinguishing characteristic of this history of Israel, which is written by two women-scholars of Oxford, is the use of the archæological and historical knowledge which has come to light in recent years to form a background for the study of the Old Testament in schools. The illuminating works of Professors George Adam Smith, Robertson Smith, R. H. Charles, and Mr. Bevan have been carefully assimilated, and the Bible narrative is set in this larger framework. The actual words of the Bible are kept, as far as possible, to mark the main lessons or contrasts. It is unfortunate, however, that the authoresses have not assimilated any of the results of modern scholarship upon the true character of the Pharisaic teaching. On this matter they merely repeat the trite misrepresentations. They speak of the Jews as "shut up under the Law," and of the shell of Judaism "which was later to prove so disastrous to the true spirit of religion." They recognise, indeed, that Hillel preached the gospel of love to man; but hold that he was "echoing the highest aspirations of the Greek and Roman world." And in the last years of the Jewish State, we are told, "all the religious forces were preparing for the advent of the Incarnate God." In the earlier chapters, however, justice is done to Israel's conception of a God of Righteousness. With proper caution, then, the book may well be used by Jewish teachers until, at least, we have a Jewish Bible history upon the same lines to take its place. It brings together, in a very useful and readable way, a large amount of information which is scattered in scientific works, and which is beyond the reach of the ordinary teacher.

The Composition of the Book of Isaiah in the Light of History and Archæology. By the Rev. Robert H. Kennett, D.D. Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, London, E.C. pp. vi–94.

The three lectures contained in this volume were the second annual course of the Schweich lectures. There is added a general index and one to passages of Scripture quoted or referred to. The lectures deal with questions of date and authorship of the various sections of the Book of Isaiah in a manner which brings five hundred years of history within their range. About fourteen chapters remain to the credit of Isaiah. Eleven are assigned to the time of Cyrus, some six chapters to the time between Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander, one passage to the time of Alexander, and the rest to the second century B.C.E.

Palestina als Judenland. Elias Auerbach. pp. 52. M. 0·30. *Zionistisches Merkbuch.* Von Hugo Schachtel. pp. 96. M. 0·20. Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin and Leipzig, 1912.

These little books give descriptive accounts of Zionist activities, particularly in Palestine. The former treats of Emigration and Colonisation, the Jewish Population of Palestine, School and Child Life, Prospects and Aim of Jewish Colonisation. It includes a map of the Jewish colonies, and is altogether most serviceably arranged. The latter collects information on the Zionist Movement: organisation, institutions, publications, etc. It gives also detailed information concerning climatic, geographical, and legal conditions of Palestine, and of educational facilities there; and also a summary of points of interest in the history of Zionism. Its utility is enhanced by a carefully prepared index.

THE
JEWISH REVIE

ITED BY
RMAN BENTWICH
AND
DR JOSEPH HOCHMA

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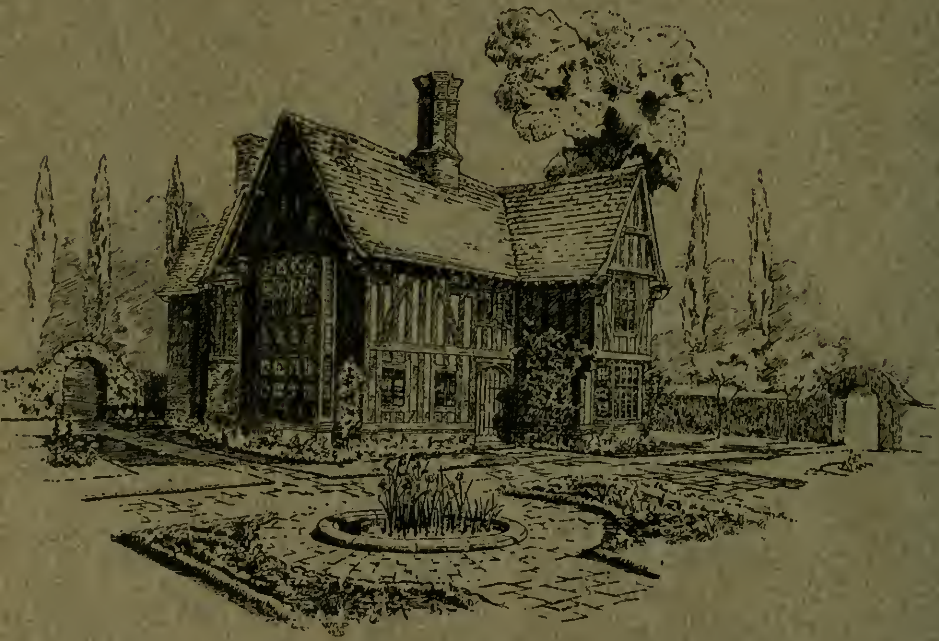

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The Jewish Review

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EDITORIAL NOTES

The Chief Rabbinate

THE electoral body proved as powerless as we prophesied. The delegates summoned to elect the Chief Rabbi were "tied hand and foot"—to quote Mr. Jessel's confession—by the decisions of the previous Rabbinate conference. The protest of the clergy was ignored. The protest of the laity was ignored. The fear of losing financial support, in the event of the defeat of the lay leaders of the community, outweighed the fear of losing the support of those who can but render personal service in the interests of the community. And rightly so; for it may be assumed that all who have the interests of the community at heart will accept the situation. Communal workers, however, should note that a continuance of this attitude on the part of the lay leaders will be utterly destructive of democratic spirit, and prevent recruiting among the rising generation for the ranks of our communal workers. The community must learn to resist financial pressure, if it would escape spiritual stagnation.

Dr. Hertz has our sympathy in the difficulties which face him. He has to lead three sections of the community between which there is, at present, little in common—the lay leaders to whose influence he owes his appointment, the ministry which opposed his nomination, and the unorganised masses of the community whose feelings were expressed in an effective protest. It is to be hoped that, with statesmanlike foresight, he will emancipate his office from the control of the few, secure for it the broad basis of popular approval, lengthen the cords to strengthen the stakes, and find opportunities of service for all who are willing to serve.

The Training of Jewish Teachers

Jewish communities in every country are coming to realise that it is not the synagogue, but the school, which is the centre of religious gravity; or rather, they are beginning to restore to the synagogue its proper function as the home of learning. The attempt to adapt Judaism to modern conditions, by altering its ritual and reducing its claims on its adherents to attendance at a special kind of public worship, may be said generally to have failed. It succeeded easily in pulling down much of the old structure, some of which doubtless was rotten, but it failed to establish anything durable in its place. What is called Reform has been very largely the reduction of Judaism, and, earnest as the movement may be, it tends, none the less, to disintegration and loss. True reform requires the replacing of the old by a new appeal which shall be in harmony with the best thought of the times, and for that, above all things, a profound knowledge of Judaism is necessary. This knowledge must not only be possessed by the spiritual leaders, it must be implanted in the hearts of the younger generation if their faith is to stand the test of the inevitable collision with the industrial and intellectual life of their emancipation. The outstanding need, therefore, of a free Jewry, which hopes to live and not merely to exist, is a body of good teachers who, themselves understanding the spirit of Judaism, can impart it to their pupils. Nobody can maintain that Anglo-Jewry to-day has such a body, nor has it at present the means of providing it. It is not that our teachers are not earnest or capable men and women; most of them are so, and many possess, besides, the qualification of a special educational training. But they lack, for the most part, a sufficient knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish thought, and even of the Bible, and the conditions of their training make it impossible that it should be otherwise. Hebrew and Jewish culture cannot be acquired as an "extra" subject by attendance at classes once or twice a week. They require continuous application and a special atmosphere. At the same time, the condition of the country makes it impossible that Jewish teaching should be a vocation in itself save for a few persons. It is necessary, then, that the Jewish teacher in general should be trained also as a secular teacher, and be enabled to take his or her place in the State service. But there is an immense difference between a training at a non-Jewish college with Jewish subjects squeezed into the programme, and training at a Jewish college where the Jewish part of the study is an integral and a dominating factor. We welcome, then, most heartily this proposal to establish a Jewish training college, and we hope that it will be fruitful of good results. It has met, of course, with objections—what good scheme does not?—but there is no great gain which has not to be purchased at the price of some small loss. The segregation of Jewish teachers, it is said, during a part of their training is undesirable, and will induce a narrowness of outlook. If a scheme could be devised by which a thorough Jewish training could be imparted at a denominational institution, it might have advantages. But the chances of narrowed outlook are negligible in comparison with the certainty of a modern Jewish knowledge. Moreover, the influence of a strong personality, developing in the young teacher a Jewish individuality, will be a far more powerful instrument of culture than any casual social intercourse with a larger body. But the decisive consideration must be the strengthening of Jewish education for the mass of children, which depends on deepening and broadening the Jewish knowledge of the teacher. In the world at large we know that progress depends on specialisation of functions. In Jewry experience is teaching us by bitter lessons that not only progress but preservation depends upon our fostering our special heritage.

Yemenites in Palestine

An important factor in the economic development of modern Palestine is the immigration of Yemenite Jews from Southern Arabia, which has begun of late to assume considerable proportions. The composite Jewish population has long included a Yemenite element; but it was not until the autumn of 1911 that organised immigration on a large scale was attempted. The movement has been encouraged by the political unrest which, though more or less perennial in the Yemen, has been, in the last two or three years, unusually serious. As a result, many hundreds of Jews, who in Arabia (as elsewhere) are not the last to suffer when trouble is on foot, have ventured forth on the unknown perils of a journey to Palestine. Every effort has been made to give them the reception they deserve. Thrifty, reliable, and industrious, they are, beyond doubt, a most valuable addition to the Jewish population. With few wants and a capacity for manual labour, they are in a position to compete in the market with the Arab fellaheen, and to give the Jewish colonies some of that self-dependence which most of them have hitherto lacked. They enjoy the advantage of being natural-born Ottoman citizens—immigrants, therefore, on whom the Government must necessarily look with peculiar favour. They are, on the other hand, steeped in the Jewish tradition. They are not indeed very learned. They are humble, simple folk. But the round of severe physical toil to which they are used has not destroyed interests beyond the day's work; and no one who has been privileged, on a visit to Palestine, to attend a Yemenite service can have failed to be touched by its spontaneous and wholehearted devotion. That such immigrants are to be welcomed no one will doubt; but if they are to do themselves justice, one essential condition must be fulfilled. They must not be encouraged to drift into the larger towns and swell the pauper population. They are ready and willing to work on the land. The land requires them. The Jewish agricultural labourer is too rare a phenomenon even in Palestine; and while every facility ought to be given, and is given, for the practice of the handicrafts for which the Yemenites have a natural aptitude, it is eminently desirable that the mass of the immigrants should live the clean and wholesome life of Petach Tikwah or Chedera, rather than enrol themselves in the great army of Jerusalem paupers. But if the Yemenites are to stay on the land, the land must offer them houses to live in; and it is at this point that practical difficulties begin. The Yemenites are not capitalists; nor, again, is it any less difficult in Palestine than elsewhere to solve the rural housing problem on strictly economic lines. The work of providing accommodation must, therefore, be subsidised, at least for the time being, from without. The Jewish National Fund has done what it could. A certain number of houses have already been provided; and a grant of several thousands of pounds was recently voted for the same purpose. Even so, however, the limited resources of the Jewish National Fund enable it to do no more than touch the fringe of the problem. Its Directors have, therefore, decided to make a special appeal to Jews of all shades of opinion to assist in a work in which all must feel a sympathetic interest. Whatever is received in response will be set aside for this specific object. The project is not ambitious. So small a sum as forty pounds will build a house adequate to the modest requirements of a Yemenite family; and there is every reason why Anglo-Jewry should play an honourable part in securing for the Yemenite Jews the homes they are seeking, and for the rural population of Palestine a most valuable accession of strength.

Abstract and Philosophical Concepts in Biblical Hebrew

THE usual view prevalent among scholars concerning the psychical constitution of the ancient Hebrew people is that they were the possessors of strong religious sentiments, ethical capacity, and practical insight, but lacking in the higher intellectuality which reveals itself in abstract and generalising concepts of the universe: in a word, they were not a philosophising people. It is true that Judaism, the faith, deals with the highest and most transcendental problems which can occupy the human mind, but this is no argument against the contention just quoted. The essence of philosophy is conscious ratiocination, a deliberate attempt to solve by means of the intellect the problems of the universe. Religion, whether we conceive it traditionally as an extra-human revelation from the Supreme Being, or as a natural and inevitable interpretation by the human race of the most pressing questions suggested by its environment, presents itself as something definite, fixed, and absolute; no longer subject to intellectual revision and, therefore, essentially non-philosophic. As a matter of fact, in the early stages of Hebrew history we do not find any evidence of definite rationalistic speculation, which shows itself only in the later Biblical literature, and appears to have been due to the influence of foreign thought on the Hebrew mind. Of the three *Chochmah* books of the Bible, Proverbs contains, mainly, adages of practical wisdom, with but little of the metaphysical or abstract; Job is a work of unknown era and entirely out of touch with the rest of the Biblical literature; and the pessimistic Ecclesiastes, whatever the time or personality of its authorship, cannot be considered typical of ancient Hebrew thought. The scholar Bernfeld, in his excellent history of Jewish philosophy, expresses himself thus: ראשית החקירה הדתית אנו מוצאים בכה"ק המאוחרים שזמן חבורם אחר חרבן בית ראשון.

Renan's view is essentially the same, "Ainsi les cultes vraiment sémitiques n'ont jamais dépassé la simple religion patriarcale, religion sans mysticism, sans théologie subtile" (*Système Comparatif*, p. 7). He thinks monotheism naturally discourages philosophy, as it does art, while polytheism encourages it. "L'absence de culture philosophique et scientifique chez les Sémites tient ce ensemble au manque d'étendue, de variété et, en conséquence, d'esprit analytique." He finds no philosophical terms in the Hebrew of any period earlier than the Middle Ages, and these latter he considers barbarisms. I hold that these views are superficial and incorrect, the result of an insufficient study of the Hebrew language and literature. While not denying the non-philosophic character of religious concepts nor the truth of the statement that formal philosophical effort was in Israel a fruit of the later ages and largely of alien influence, I maintain that the thought of pre-exilic Israel was profoundly and thoroughly philosophical. This is shown to us by a close examination of the significance of Hebrew terms. This study is altogether a most fascinating one, and leads to the most interesting and unexpected results, but I shall on this occasion confine myself to those terms which are connected with philosophic thought. What shows philosophic power in a people? Its language. A language which is rich in terms of philosophic import, in abstracts, in collectives, in generalisations can only be the speech of a nation of thinkers. A nation which is rude, primitive, and materialistic must naturally look at all things from the viewpoint of narrow, crass, and restricted materialism, and this characteristic will be reflected in its speech. Judged by their speech the ancient Hebrews are seen to be a people of lofty and refined intellectuality. Let us consider now some of these terms, omitting those which are specifically theological. The word עולם is such a term. It signifies world, universe, and eternity—in Biblical Hebrew usually the latter, in Rabbinical Hebrew both.* It is from the root עלם "to hide, to conceal," and conveys, therefore, the idea of something concealed, unknown, the origin and end of which we cannot know. In this word is contained the ancient Hebrew concept of time and space—time, the infinite in duration; space, the infinite in expanse. This is practically identical with the definition of space and time by Kant, who makes space and time *Anschauungen*, categories of thought; space, *Das Nebeneinander der Dinge in der Unendlichkeit;* time, *Das Nacheinander der Dinge in der Unendlichkeit.* The Hebrew mind conceived them as duration and expanse whose limits are unknowable, that is, infinite. There is another word for eternal, נצח. This signifies also victory. The philosophic inference is clear. The eternal is that which will prevail. All temporary forces, no matter how successful in their time, are of no significance, for they must succumb to the eternal. God is נצח ישראל, "the victorious one of Israel," because He is the eternal one. The same significance of invincible firmness is expressed by the term עד from עדד (or עוד), "to be firm," "to stand unshakable," e.g. קמנו ונתעודד (Ps. xx. 9). In sharp contrast is the term תמיד, which implies merely relative continuity, but without the notion of absolute eternity. The term תמותה (Ps. LXXIX. 11, CII. 21) is also of philosophic broadness. It means not merely death, but mortality, perishability, בני תמותה mortals. Similar is the term חלוף (Prov. XXXI. 8), signifying transitoriness, בני חלוף "creatures of temporary and limited existence." This term and also the term חליפה, used (Job XIV. 14) in the sense of death, have also the secondary sense of "change," "relief," which shows the concept of the great change from life to death, and also of relief and release from life's burdens, כל ימי צבאי איחל עד בוא חליפתי. Neither is a direct term for immortality lacking. It is אל־מות (Prov. XII. 28), בארח צדקה חיים ודרך נתיבה אל־מות. In this connection I will point out an excellent modern term for immortality, אי־תמותה. The terms for the soul belong to the domain of theology, which we are not now considering. Philologically, they are all connected with the function of respiration, נשמה, רוח, נפש, and therefore go back to the primitive observation that the distinction between the living man and the dead is the breath. But the Psalmist uses the terms כבוד and יחידה (Ps. LVII. 9, XXII. 21) for the soul, showing that he had a lofty immaterial concept of the soul as the glory and the special distinction of man. The philosophic term for matter is also found in the Bible. It is the same term as is used by the medieval Hebrew philosophers, viz. חומר, literally "mud," "clay." In the passages Job IV. 19 (שוכני בתי חומר) and Job XXXIII. 6 (מחומר קורצתי גם אני) they are used in the philosophical sense of physical substance, like the Greek ὕλη, but more correctly, as the Greek term means wood. The term אליל shows the Hebrew concept of idols as non-entity, a true philosophical concept. A number of verbs of genuine philosophic significance occur in passages which are usually misinterpreted. They are Isaiah VII. 13 (המעט מכם הלאות אנשים כי תלאו גם את אלהי). The King James version translates "is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will ye weary my God also?"—a very shallow rendering. The evident meaning is, "is it too little for you that you nullify (or, make naught of) men, would you nullify also God?"—a true philosophic concept. This interpretation implies that the verb הלאה is derived from the negative particle לא. This will seem less surprising when we remember that it is by no means unusual in Hebrew to form verbs from particles. Examples are תהינו, "to undertake," "to dare" (Deut. I. 41), from הן, הנה, like German *bejahen*, and אפונה (Ps. LXXXVIII. 16), "to be distracted," "uncertain" from the particle פן, themselves abstract formations of a high degree of complexity. Another such verb occurs in Isaiah XI. 3, והריחו ביראת ה״. The dictionaries take this as from הריח, "to smell," which is, of course, absurd. The K.J. version renders "and shall make him of quick understanding." This is, of course, mere guesswork. The true rendering is "shall inspire him," from רוח, spirit. In Job VI. 16 occurs the passage, עלימו יתעלם שלג. K.J. version renders "wherein the snow is hid," entirely unsuitable to the context, besides being impossible. The true rendering is, "the snow is eternalised," "remains eternally," from עולם, eternity, a verbal form which is extremely rare even in English.

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* A number of instances seem to show that the sense, world, universe, belonged to the word also in Biblical times, e.g. שלוי עולם, Psalm LXXIII. 12; עולם חסד יבנה, Psalm LXXXIX. 3; את העולם נתן בלבם, Ecclesiastes III. 11. It is highly improbable that the Rabbis would have given the word an entirely new sense. It has been pointed out that in Arabic the root עלם has exactly the contrary meaning "to know." This may be taken as an instance of a root having two contrary senses, e.g. חסד, meaning "mercy" and "abomination."

The expression עת חיה (Gen. XVIII. 10, 14; 2 Kings IV. 16) has been much misunderstood. The Targum renders בעדן דאתון קימין, the K.J. version, "according to the time of life," both of which renderings give no satisfactory sense. The meaning is, "the time required for the origin of life," i.e. "the period of gestation," a truly scientific concept.

The philosophic character of a language shows itself mainly in its supply of abstract and collective nouns. Of these the Hebrew has a great stock. There are abstracts in הָ or תֶ and in וּת. Those in הָ or תֶ are mostly of the simpler, primal sort belonging to any language of some degree of development. Such are חכמה, בינה, דעת, צדקה, ברכה, גדולה, גבורה, etc. The noun בינה ("understanding") is a highly philosophic term. It is connected with בין ("between"), and implies that the essential characteristic of understanding consists in the discovery of distinctions between things, what Spencer calls the method of differentiation. The abstracts in ות imply mainly derived conditions, and are usually formed from previously existing nouns. Examples are עדות, סכלות, פתיות, עבדות, מלכות, כבדות, מסכנות. A little contemplation of these forms will show us that the medieval terms in ות, such as מהות, איכות, כמות, ישות, מציאות, etc., are true Hebrew formations, and not at all deserving of being considered barbarisms, as Renan calls them. An interesting class of abstracts are those in ים, such as חיים, נעורים, זקונים, רחמים. The plural form seems at first enigmatical, but becomes intelligible when we reflect that the states and feelings here referred to are essentially plural in their nature. Reggio explains (in his book, תורה מן השמים) the plural of חיים as referring to life in this world and the hereafter, and of מים as referring to the fact that water is composed of oxygen and hydrogen. We need not accept this explanation, but we must admit that neither life nor water present a definite, limited nature, such as is characteristic of singular objects, and therefore the use of the plural by the Hebrew is based upon a philosophical and scientific truth. The collective of the form קטולה has been little noticed hitherto yet is unmistakable, e.g. גבורה, "a body of heroes," "yeomanry," מתיך בחרב יפלו וגבורתך במלחמה (Isa. III. 25), עֲבֻדָּה, a body of servants, Familia, ועבדה רבה (Gen. XXVI. 14), עבודה, beasts of burden, ועשב לעבודת האדם (Ps. CIV. 14). Dr. Szold's rendering is, "Burden-beasts of man." (כְּבֻדָּה), i.e. a collection of heavy objects, i.e. baggage, like the Latin *Impedimenta* (Judges XVIII. 21). I believe these examples will suffice to show that the ancient Hebrew was not the rude vernacular of a primitive, unscientific people; but that it is a highly developed and complex vehicle of speech, rich in abstract, involved, and philosophic terms and usages. It is a justifiable inference that the nation whose instrument of expression it was must have attained to a high degree of intellectual development and philosophic world-view, and, therefore, was not entirely dependent on the influence of extraneous peoples for philosophic concepts.

BERNARD DRACHMAN.

Bible Problems and Modern Knowledge

THERE is no finality in discussion on the Bible. Men may come and men may go, but the problem of the Bible goes on for ever. Truly enough, one and one only spirit animates the investigator, Jew and Gentile alike. It is the spirit of the search for truth. Truth is the goal of our quest. But the roads leading to that goal are all so varied, so tortuous, so dark and bewildering; and the travellers on these roads are usually encumbered with so large a stock of preconceived notions and pet beliefs, that the goal instead of being successfully reached, seems to recede further and further. No one will deny that the travellers bring home for our delectation a great many treasures which they have picked up by the way, the treasures of archæology, of philology, of the history and psychology of nations and individuals. But the real object of the quest, the search for the one incontestable, universal, unifying truth about the Bible, that remains unsatisfied. Problems remain problems and our mood is very much like the mood of Ecclesiastes—Ecclesiastes the pessimist—who said, "I thought I would be wise, but it is far from me."

The subject being, then, a complex one, contains far more material than can be dwelt upon in the space of a paper. It can therefore only be dealt with fragmentarily. The first item which merits consideration seems to me to be this: Was there always, at all epochs, an incessant stream of debate about the Bible and its problems, or is it only a feature of recent times? To ask the question is to answer it. Let us look at our own case as Jews—the Jewish attitude to the Bible. Did any Jew of a bygone age look at the Bible with the same critical eyes as we Jews of to-day do ? No ! The quarrels between the Pharisees and the Sadducees touched on some of the most fundamental points of Jewish O.T. interpretation. But yet, I doubt whether the difference in opinion between these two outstanding and dominating types of ancient Jewish thought was any approach to the chasm that separates many Jews to-day in their notions about the origin, meaning, and value of the constituent parts of the Bible, or in their appraisement of the Bible as a whole. The historic controversy which raged round the Maimonidean conception of angels and prophecy, miracles and immortality is, at bottom, a difference of view in regard to vital matters in O.T. religion. And yet, I fancy, there would be far more points of agreement between these medieval combatants than are to be found between many schools of Jewish interpreters to-day. It is a truism that the protagonists of Jewish reform in Germany in the early nineteenth century seem quite orthodox in their ideas about Scripture, when put alongside of many a scholar and theologian of to-day.

There is thus a sweeping change in attitude. How is this to be explained ? Quite easily. There is no Jewish authoritative interpretation of the Bible. There are interpretations, battalions of them, but no one interpretation of canonical validity. But it will at once be retorted by some, What about the Talmudic and Midrashic exegesis of Holy Writ, what about Rashi and Kimchi, Ibn Ezra, the Biur, and the Malbim ? Are we then so much wiser than our forbears that we can afford to ignore these " eyes of the congregation," these guides and masters whom they of a foregone age cherished with an idolising affection, and whose words were a veritable lamp to their feet and a light to their path ? The answer is, No ! we cannot afford to ignore these authorities, neither are they ignored. But Jews, like all other people, are the creatures of circumstance, the children of their age. If our age possesses no binding Bible emanating from the hands of Jews, then we must and do have recourse to the Bible which emanates from the hands of Gentiles. It is the latter from whom we are compelled to take our lessons. Hence it is they who largely mould our opinions, influence our taste, create our atmosphere. Our Jewish individuality, as far as the Bible goes, is merged in the larger body of non-Jewish public opinion. What is this non-Jewish public opinion ? It is a practically unanimous consensus of opinion about the Bible, which, for its revolutionary character, finds no parallel in any generation previous to ours. The result is this : those of us who are inflexibly orthodox refuse to listen to the siren voices of the new Bible science and hold fast to the old paths. But we are not absolutely comfortable over it. We realise that we are swimming against the tide rather than with it ; and the tide is a strong one. Those of us, however, who are more pliable in their convictions about the Bible, imagine that we have no alternative but to throw in our lot with the dominant majority, bowing to opinions and beliefs which, if true, must result in materially altering, if not destroying, some of the fundamental principles of Judaism. The crux of my paper lies at just this point. It aims at showing that there is a half-way house ; that while it is indefensible to flout the new Bible science as a whole, it is quite possible to see that not all of its pretensions are worthy of our acceptance ; and that by the judicious exercise of a process of choosing and rejecting, it is quite possible to hold a modernised view of the Bible without at the same time bartering away those priceless fundamental truths which are the life-essence of historic Judaism.

This new Bible science is what is more familiarly known as the Higher Criticism. While asserting that the Bible is of divine origin, it maintains that it has a human side as well, that it is a literature which cannot be exempted, even if we wished it, from the laws and methods which pertain to all literary and historical criticism. It is contended that religion will be the gainer and not the loser by the application of these laws and methods. It is contended that to subject the Bible to a scientific handling is by no means to impair the sanctity of its message. To read the Bible in the light of all that we know to-day is to enhance, rather than to diminish, our reverence for its truth. Conversely, it is argued that if the Bible, in any of its parts, gives way under the touch of our critical reason—which is as much a divine gift as is the Bible—then those parts of the Bible must go, and we must substitute something else in their stead.

It is necessary here to digress for a few moments and to say a few words on the causes generally which operated to bring about this new conception of the Bible. One has to go much further back than the beginning of the nineteenth century—the time which saw the commencement of so much of the new thought in the midst of which we are still living. We must look to the middle of the sixteenth century. This was the age of the Renaissance of learning, when the discoveries in science and in literature and in philosophy, the achievements of Reuchlin and Erasmus, Colet and More in the realm of letters, and the triumphs of other men in the sphere of travel and world-exploration—all these things created the most momentous changes in men's thoughts and beliefs. The conception of the nature of the universe in which we live was revolutionised, and the idea of man and man's place in the universe was quite altered from what it formerly was. The next century—the seventeenth—saw the birth of modern physical science. With the eighteenth century came the Revolution in France and the "Enlightenment" in Germany. And then, in the nineteenth century, with the advent of Darwin, the theory of evolution burst upon a surprised world. A whole ocean of new thought arose, submerging ever so many of the old landmarks. The universe came to be regarded as a kind of mechanism, and everything organic as well as inorganic was explained from this standpoint. Much doubt came to be cast upon the existence of a spiritual side in man. The idea of the soul and of a future life became objects of the greatest scepticism. In short, people's attitude towards science, towards religion, towards God and the Bible, underwent a radical transformation which has had the greatest consequences for all succeeding ages.

In an environment of scientific acumen like this, it is only natural that the Bible as history and as literature should be put upon its trial in ways that it had never hitherto experienced. It ceased to be accepted unquestioningly. The truth or untruth, the worth or worthlessness of all other books must be proved by the application of the scientific method. The Bible, it was severely felt, must stand or fall by the application of the same method.

The heritage bequeathed to us by these phases of intellectual activity is seen in the vast body of criticism which is now an integral and ever-present element in every commentary on the Bible. No one, as a matter of fact, can nowadays lay claim to the possession of scholarship in Biblical lore who is not equipped with a good working knowledge of these new and elaborate and loudly proclaimed latter-day hypotheses and theories.

That these vigorous currents of thought cannot and should not escape the notice of us Jews is beyond question. If such radically new constructions are being put upon the books which hold the first germs of our religion, which contain our first histories and prophetic utterances, the first products of our nation in the fields of poetry and philosophy, then we naturally desire to know how we really stand in the face of it all. We want to take an inventory of our racial and religious consciousnesses, so as to get some practical idea of what is henceforth to be our attitude towards the sacred traditions in which we have been nurtured.

Here we come to grips with the heart of my paper. Ought we, as stalwart, reverent, conforming Jews, to welcome this new science of the Bible as a friend, or ought we to shun it as an enemy ? Admittedly, it lays a cold and profane hand on much that we love to hug to our warm hearts as for all time sacred. Nevertheless, can we turn away from it, ignore it, and not be the losers ? To this, I humbly say that to shut out from our study the modern critical literature which now encompasses the Bible upon all sides, is to make ourselves immeasurably the losers. For, quite apart from the question of the truth or untruth of the new material, it is undeniable that so many fresh points of view are brought in being, so many unexpected vistas of thought and knowledge are opened up, that if the study of the Bible was a pleasure hitherto, it is more than a pleasure now. Let me try and illustrate my meaning. We all know that one of the basic contentions of the Higher Criticism is that the books of the O.T. are the result of processes of compilation and combination, and, in modern phrase, "editing." It is maintained that the hand of a "reviser" is visible in many of the narratives, that many an episode or biography is taken from some older source of which very little or no trace has come down to us ; that a book which bears the name of an author often contains matter which must be attributed to some other author or authors. Now, the position is this: some of us are hurt to the quick at the reading of these iniquitous perversions. To be actually told that Moses had no more hand in the making of Deuteronomy than did Plato ! To be actually asked to believe that "Pentateuch" is wrong and that "Hexateuch" is right, and that both are equally compilations from older documents ! To be actually expected to accept that the correct order is not (i) Torah, (ii) Prophets, but vice versa, and that the account of the sacrificial ceremonies said to have been enacted in the Tabernacle during the forty years' wandering in the desert is, if not a fabrication, something next door to a fabrication, having been imported into the text in a later age by some one who was familiar with the order of worship in the First Temple at Jerusalem! Tidings like these are, to say the least, very upsetting to some of us, positively painful to others. But to me it seems, that though some of us fear much and feel very much outraged, there are compensating advantages which are great and numerous enough to oust all sense of danger. The correct perspective of the matter seems to be as follows: the modern criticism of the Bible on the one hand, and faith in Judaism on the other hand, can be regarded as too distinct compartments. For criticism, even at its best, is speculative and tentative, something always liable to be modified or proved wrong and having to be replaced by something else. It is an intellectual exercise, subject to all the doubts and guesses which are inseparable from such exercises. But our accredited truths of Judaism have their foundations more deeply and strongly laid than all this. And our faith in them not only need be uninjured by our faith in criticism, but need not be affected by the latter at all. The two are quite consistent and can be held simultaneously. I can quite understand any one talking as follows: I like the Higher Criticism, I study it, I appreciate much of its teaching and its general sentiment, I fancy that much in Judaism can be brought into line with it, I think that it may be in accordance with truth and it may not be in accordance with truth, and therefore I sit on the hedge; and as to my notions of the basic truths of Judaism, my reading in criticism has not changed them one bit. The one is airy, floating intellectualism, the other is consolidated religion. They lie in different spheres and have no necessary bearing one on the other.

But looking, as it were, on the other side of the ledger, there is to be seen quite a number of solid advantages from the Higher Criticism—advantages not only to the Bible as the finest monument of Jewish literature, but to the Bible as the first and last inspirer to the Jewish life and the Jewish faith. Let me illustrate what I mean. We said a little while ago, that one of the postulates of modern scholarship says that there is a great deal of compilation and editing in many parts of the Bible. We may accept this assertion or we may reject it. But one thing we must do. We must come to the examination of the sacred pages with an added zest and interest, because our minds are at once opened to a great truth in literature which might otherwise never have dawned upon us. We learn something about the characteristic methods of Oriental historiography. The Oriental historian wrote history in quite a different way from the modern historian. The modern historian reads up his authorities, digests and assimilates them, and then, by the logical processes of induction and deduction and classification, he writes an entirely new history, the style and composition being entirely his own. But the Oriental historian merely took hold of his sources as they stood, strung them together, a piece here and a piece there, adding perhaps an occasional word or passage of new matter, but never thinking of any possible inconsistencies or contradictions in the different artificially arranged parts of the document, never troubling about the unity or completeness of the picture. It is from such standpoint as this that the Higher Critics are wont to explain the divergencies between the first and second chapters of Genesis, or the duplicate accounts of the Flood, or the different Hebrew terms used to express the Divine name in parallel narratives, or the variations and inconsistencies in detail between several versions of the same event or biography, or the introduction of some unexpected passage of matter into a chapter or verse totally unconnected with the subject and oft-times at variance with it. All these critical ideas are proclaimed nowadays from the housetops. What is the result ? The illiterate throw up the sponge and say at once that the Bible is a confused conglomeration of second-hand history, fiction, and fable. The learned, who have steadfastly kept to the beaten track of old Jewish tradition exclusively, never turning for light from any other quarter, are liable to be diverted by the sudden shock of their new discoveries into perhaps agnostic channels. But those of us who have made ourselves familiar with the ways and methods of the fashionable scientific criticism, not only escape unscathed from the ordeal, but are drawn to honour the Bible and the Judaism which is a corollary of it, for quite a number of new reasons. We see the strange ways in which the writers worked, we are attracted to compare and contrast them with the ways of other writers, ancient, medieval, or modern, we come to want to know more and more about the materials they used, the feeling of the eternal search after truth grows upon us with greater and greater intensity, and we crave to get as near as is humanly possible to the heart of the mystery. Who shall say that whilst the literature of the Bible thus comes to stand higher and higher in our esteem, the religion of the Bible comes to stand lower ? Quite the contrary is the case. Or to put the matter in another way. Is it possible to appreciate the modern theories of the composite authorship of the Pentateuch and yet be unmoved in your belief that Moses wrote the Pentateuch ? I think it is possible. Your study of criticism opens out new avenues of knowledge, discloses new fields of literary interest, digs up new ores of precious thought. The more you discover, the more you find yet remains to be discovered. Every discovery increases your modesty in the presence of the difficulties yet to be encountered. And you are in no hurry to believe that the final verdict on the Bible and on Judaism must of necessity rest with the scientific critic, be his theories ever so captivating in their scholarly ingenuity.

To come to further illustration. You read the writings of a prophet like Amos or Hosea. You read them with the aid of the accompanying criticism which insists upon the late age of those sections of the Torah customarily designated P—the Priestly Document. If the assumption of this late age is a correct one, then neither Amos nor Hosea could have had any inkling of the institutions and usages which figure so largely in P. Hence they could not possibly have made any references to them in their pages. But what do we find on even superficial study ? To confine our attention to Amos only, we find a remark in his second chapter (II. 10, 11) as follows : " Also I brought you up from the land of Egypt, and led you forty years through the wilderness, to possess the land of the Amorite. And I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazarites. Is it not even thus, O ye children of Israel ? saith the Lord." The allusions here are to prominent sections of the books of Exodus and Numbers—the departing from Egypt, the forty years' wandering in the desert, the warfare with the Amorites, the characteristic qualities of the Nazarites. And there is a definiteness, a precision in the phrasing and the tone of Amos's remarks which give the impression that he was drawing his ideas not from hearsay, but from some text-book of Israel's history with which he was thoroughly *au fait*, and which had then an established vogue among the people. Again, in the same chapter, Amos depicts Israel as having " despised the law of the Lord," and as not having " kept his commandments . . . after the which their fathers have walked." This looks very much like a clear reference to the ceremonial and sacrificial systems of the Pentateuch, the word " Torah " being in the Pentateuch applied to the laws of the clean and the unclean, the laws of leprosy, the laws governing the different species of sacrifice, etc., etc. Amos chides the people with " stretching themselves on garments taken in pledge beside every altar," a clear infringement of the law of the pledge in Exodus XXII. 26. An expression such as "to profane my holy name" is strongly reminiscent of that great precept in the Book of Leviticus. Such favourite phrases of his as "feast days," "solemn assemblies," "burnt-offerings," "peace-offerings"—the Hebrew terminology being exactly the same as that found in Leviticus—seem to go a long way in making one doubt the truth of the alleged lateness of the so-called Priestly Code.

To what end does the study and discussion of these points lead? It leads us to see, in the scientific criticism of the Bible, an impetus for untiring research on our part; points undetected before, emerge into prominence; all sorts of new themes in ancient history, theology, and archæology fly out in diverse ways from the Biblical page, like sparks from an anvil; our interests become at once diversified and intensified; and, knowing the tentative and speculative nature of the research, we are not necessarily deflected one jot from our traditional veneration for the Bible as the fountain-head of traditional Judaism. When Professor Driver, for instance, explains and justifies the references in Amos just alluded to, by saying that "they probably go back to the Book of the Covenant which is certainly older than Amos, and that the document J and probably E as well were in existence before Amos's time," the hazardous and hypothetical nature of the whole business becomes manifest. But we have every reason to be thankful to it for the fuller and deeper investigation that it encourages and forces us to make into the crowded and many-sided topics with which the pages of Scripture bristle.

Another illustration is the following: Modern Criticism declares that in the Book of Isaiah there is a plurality of authors. This contention has, I am sure, not succeeded in making agnostics of any of us who were not agnostics before. If anything, it has been of immense benefit to us, whether as Jewish students of the

Bible or as Jewish believers in its unrivalled worth and imperishable sanctity. For what has it done? It has, for one thing, sent us back to study, with more painstaking thoroughness than we would otherwise have done, the true nature of the old Israelitish prophecy. If the contents of Isaiah XL.–LXVI. are not the work of the prophet bearing that name, who was a contemporary of Hezekiah at Jerusalem, but are to be attributed to some other man or men who lived much more than a century later in Babylonia, towards the close of the Babylonian exile, then we have to tackle the following problems: (*a*) Is prediction of the future a necessary ingredient of Israelitish prophecy, or is it not? (*b*) Can that be called prophecy which deals with existing facts? in other words, Has prophecy a circumstantial origin? (*c*) Is it rational to assume that the name of so eminent a prophet—one whose eloquence towers above even that of many a known and celebrated prophet—should have been so entirely lost to history, that his work should actually be fathered on to some one with whom he had not the remotest connection? (*d*) Do the internal features of these twenty-seven chapters, the style, the language, the personages who play a part in them, the geographical references, the theological ideas, do all these definitely and convincingly point to the age and environment of exiled Israel, or are the indications of a pre-exilic date stronger and more convincing? These are hard problems enough, and we come away from their consideration with the assurance that their rightful solution does not necessarily rest with the categorical pronouncement of the critics. What we feel is rather the "shadowiness," the thinness, the insignificance of what we know compared with the magnitude of what there is to be known, and what we might succeed in knowing if we search the Scriptures more and more. And the difficulties involved in the search are far more likely to produce in us the feeling of reverence in the face of the great unknown, rather than the feeling of blatant and arrogant scepticism which declares "I know everything."

The same species of argument can, it seems to me, be successfully applied to the consideration of those two other branches of thought from which the modern scientific criticism of the Bible draws much of its material. I mean (*a*) the literature derived from the decipherment of the Cuneiform Tablets, (*b*) the light which modern research in the study of comparative religion sheds upon the interpretation of some of the social and religious rites and customs of the ancient Hebrews. With regard to the first of these, it is the barest commonplace to say that it is a department of Biblical exegesis which time will never wither nor custom stale. Our information about the life and religion of the ancient Babylonians and their kinsfolk the Assyrians—information derived from the sculptures and inscriptions in their palaces, or from the clay tablets stored away in the libraries of their great cities—is an abiding commentary on the Bible. But I believe that I am right in saying, that our interest in this great province of knowledge is, from our particular standpoint as Jewish students of the Jewish Bible, of a purely literary, rather than of a religious character. We love to read all about the prevailing activity in the disinterring of these ancient ruins; and we honour the ingenuity of those who decipher, for us, the difficult script. It is a perpetual pleasure to us students of Biblical archæology, to note the resemblances between Babylonian and Hebrew literature in such matters as cosmological speculation, ideas of the Deity, the amenities of commercial and social life. But the pleasure is intellectual. I don't see that it does, or how it ever can, prevail upon us to alter, what is for us Jews, the religion taught by the Bible. For, however numerous the points of similarity between certain things in the inscriptions and certain things in the Scriptures, there are always so many points of dissimilarity that the hazardous nature of forming any vital deductions is always apparent. The mystery of the Hebrew Bible remains the same mystery as before. The origin of the Hebrew genius for understanding, as none others understood, the meaning of Righteousness, Holiness, and Hesed (the word inadequately rendered lovingkindness), the origin of Hebrew ethical monotheism, these remain as unexplained, as wonderful as before. Take the following facts by way of illustration : the first two chapters of Genesis are epics on the subject of the Creation. Similar Creation epics in vogue among the Babylonians have been disinterred from the ruins of Asshurbanipal's library at Nineveh. It is natural to compare these two pieces of ancient literature. But to make deductions as to the original relationship of the one to the other is a highly dubious piece of work. The amateur in this province takes down from his shelf a book like Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures* on the origin and growth of religion among the ancient Babylonians. Here the general reader gains a good working acquaintance with the main topics of these old Babylonian Creation hymns. But he soon discovers the many irreconcilable differences between them and the Creation narratives of Genesis. They breathe utterly diverse orders of thought. The Babylonian odes tell of a huge pantheon of gods and goddesses, all struggling for supremacy, primeval demons and monsters devouring one another ; and the divisions of earth and heaven, sea and sky, are at times the causes, at times the results, of these barbarous and bloodthirsty wranglings. It is all so confusing, so unpalatable to the modern taste. Doubtless, as the scholars point out, a number of theological and ethical truths, of a worthy sort, underlies all this old-world polytheism. But how separated is it all by unfathomed oceans of difference from the pure gold of the Bible story! Science may venture to tell us that this gold is now rather rusty and obsolete. But this is the worse that it can tell us.

It cannot tell us that the Bible records are revolting, immoral, or unmoral. The mould in which they are cast may be primitive, but the truths they enshrine have an eternal appeal. By all means, then, let all the gods and goddesses of Assyria and Babylonia fly to our aid, giving us more light, more discernment in our studies of the Bible. They are not likely to divert us from the right path, nor to make us confound the solid substance of Judaism with the fleeting shadows of what can be nothing more than literary speculation. And how correct it is to describe much of this latter research as speculative, is emphasised to me by a critique which I read the other day in one of the quarterly reviews, of the latest book of Jeremias, entitled *The O.T. in the Light of the Ancient East.* According to this German critic, all the narratives in the O.T., if they are to be interpreted aright, must be read in the light of the Babylonian conceptions of astral deities. The Bible is a kind of story-book, the personages and incidents of which are merely material pictures of astral mythology. A constant dawning of astral ages is everywhere apparent in Scripture. Thus, the duel between David and Goliath is explained by Jeremias as follows: "The emphasis of David's smallness, no armour fitting him (I Sam. XVII. 38 ff.), corresponds to the *motif* that we find clearest in the fairy story of *Hop-o'-my-Thumb.* In the myth of the year, the giant who incorporates the five intercalary days before the beginning of spring is sometimes opposed by a little one, who corresponds to the fraction which is contained in the calculation of the equalised solar and lunar year; one quarter in addition to five. The five smooth stones (I Sam. XVII. 40) correspond besides, equally, to the winter giants." Dr. Johns, in his general Introduction, says that Jeremias here gives us rich stories of illustrative material for understanding the setting of the O.T. One can only say to this, that if the O.T. becomes clearer after the study of Jeremias' interpretation, then one's ordinary notions of "clearness" are severely in need of revision. It is obviously a case of riding a hobby to death. The Bible in the hands of such exponents might well cry out, O save me from my friends!

Coming now to comparative religion and comparative anthropology, no Bible commentary, since the time of Robertson Smith, feels justified in dispensing with this branch of modern scholarship. All that the Bible has to say about sacrifices, about the laws of ritual purity and impurity, about the prohibitions to eat fat and blood, about the distinctions between the animals allowed and those disallowed for food, and about ever so many religious ceremonies and usages which have long become absorbed into the fabric of Judaism—all these themes invariably come in for treatment from the "comparative" point of view. But I fancy that here, too, it is a correct description of things to say that our interest in these domains is predominantly academic. True, the perspective of our study is widened. The field is made ever so much larger and more diversified, and we pick up a number of new articles of absorbing interest; and the Bible contents become ever so much more marvellous in our eyes, seeing that they have so many hitherto unsuspected parallelisms with the life-stories of other ancient people. But so far and no further. I do not think we are religiously influenced by these studies in the least. They are too hypothetical, and their values are so often evanescent. To give some examples. In his book on *The Evolution of Religion*, Dr. Farnell says: "Among the varied religious acts of man, there is probably none that has been so widely prevalent throughout the different races of mankind, as the ritual of purification, nor does any idea seem to have possessed so strong a legislative power in the various departments of our life as the concept of purity." One wades through page after page of Dr. Farnell's book in which he illustrates the great parts played by spirits, ghosts, and taboos in the purification rituals of the primitive nations. Similarly one turns up page after page in Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, where he speaks of such religious rites as sin-transference among primitive peoples, the idea of the infusing of the human being's uncleanness into some other human being, or animal, or inanimate object. The implication in all these strange researches is, that much of the Bible material is illustrated, in regard to its origin, by these extraordinary beliefs of early nations. Bearing this in mind, we glance at the sections in Leviticus, e.g. which speak of cleanness or uncleanness in cattle destined for food, or of the laws of leprosy or childbirth or " issues." It is easy to see superficial resemblances to parallel rites among outsiders. It is a diverting academic exercise to make comparisons and draw deductions. But how decisive and deep-lying are the differences! The whole atmosphere of the Bible is of quite another order. To read about the religious worships described in Farnell and Frazer, is to read of a state of things obviously unrelated to civilisation, and quite outside the plane of what men understand now by religion and morals. To read the Biblical passages which are supposed to present a parallel to these outworn mythologies, is to read of things which, even on the most destructive critical interpretation, always show forth elements which are at once illuminating and spiritual, and in harmony, more or less, with the march of cultured thought and reasoned religion.

There is just one more point in our survey which demands a few words, because it cuts deep into the subject. I allude to the question of Inspiration—the Inspiration of the Bible. We are quite accustomed by now to the scepticism with which all traditional views of Biblical inspiration—Jewish and non-Jewish—are met. If the influx of modern knowledge is doing so much to unsettle men's opinions about the origin and nature of the written records of Scripture, it is only to be expected that it will exercise the same unsettling influence in people's belief about what lies behind and underneath these records, in other words, Inspiration—the spirit which pervades and animates all the parts of the Bible, and by giving them a uniqueness stamps them as being of Divine authorship and as possessing Divine authority. The general trend of the critic is something like the following: "You say that the Bible is the inspired book of God. How can it be, seeing that some of the facts put down therein cannot be brought into line with what science teaches or what history discloses? What about the narrative of Creation in the first chapter of Genesis? Can that be made to tally precisely with the records written in the rocks? What about that arresting instance of human sacrifice, when Abraham, in order that his faith should be tested, was divinely bidden to slay his son? Can human sacrifice be acceptable to God? What about the wars of extermination, when the Israelites were employed as the executioners of a judgment upon nations, by a method which, to us, seems so outrageously barbarous. Could God have commanded it, or have been pleased with it?" These queries are much older than the general postulates of the Higher Criticism. But they naturally come to the fore, and gain force with the onward march of criticism. And it seems to me unthinkable that those of us whose ambition it is to see Judaism's stronghold and inmost citadel—the Bible—enthroned permanently in our own hearts and the hearts of others, should not feel it our duty to confront these questions fairly and squarely, and wrestle with ourselves for the answer which accords with conscience and with truth. I think that we Jews, no matter of what shade of thought, are all agreed that there is a human factor in inspiration. The Rabbis said so. They said, "all the Holy writings were dictated by the Holy Spirit." This is the Divine factor. They also used such phrases as, "Moses, Joshua, Samuel, Ezra, and the Prophets wrote their own books." "Moses wrote Job." "Joshua wrote the last eight verses of the

Pentateuch." "Jeremiah wrote the Book of Kings." "Samuel wrote Judges and Ruth." "Ezra wrote the Books of Chronicles." If these statements prove anything, they prove that the Rabbis in their estimation of authorship took into consideration such purely human things as date and style and literary references. If e.g. they said that Moses wrote the Book of Job, and the question is asked why they said so, it is not sufficient to reply, Because they believed that the hero of the Book of Job was contemporaneous with Moses. It must be asked, What led them to believe it? And the only answer possible is, that they inferred it from what we should now call internal evidence. If such then be the case, the sanctity of inspiration is not one whit impaired by modern strictures about the Bible not always harmonising with the approved results of science. What was written down could only have been written down in accordance with the standard of thought and knowledge current in that particular age. And we perhaps make far too much of science nowadays. We are science-mad. We claim for it a monopoly of truth. We want everything to be scientific, and to be scientific is, we think, to be faultless. There is too great a "cocksureness" about us and our science, and it is getting high time that we moderated ourselves and learned to be a little more modest in the face of insoluble problems. Say what you will of the imperfections of the Bible, a whole world of difference divides the inspiration of a Moses or an Isaiah, from the inspiration of Solon or Æschylus or Shakespeare. For one thing, did any of these latter bequeath to posterity any views of God which have been taken up as the eternal groundtruths of religion? The uniqueness of the Bible's inspiration is realised when it is asked where and how its authors got these ideas of God, those lofty ideas of His holiness, His righteousness, lovingkindness, and faithfulness? It is impossible to answer the question from the usual standpoint of cause and effect. Something is always left over, unexplained, inexplicable. This " something " is " inspiration," that factor in the Bible's make-up which has no counterpart anywhere else. But if this is so, what about those Biblical strata which seem to contradict this high standard ? What about the O.T. teaching on human slaughter as being in some cases divinely commanded ? If inspiration is the Spirit of God speaking through the men who wrote the Pentateuch and the Prophets, are we not involved in a most flagrant self-contradiction when we say that anything obnoxious to modern thought could have been of the essence of this inspiration ? For surely God was always the same, and must always have been true to Himself, true to the highest and the best. The solution of this difficulty at the hands of the modern critics of the Bible is a strikingly interesting phenomenon to the Jewish student. They can be divided up into two distinct classes. One class, consisting of the " whole-hoggers," dismiss the difficulty by asserting, with the aid of illustrations from the records of other early nations and communities, that the Bible is a compound of unworthy as well as worthy elements, and that the ideal for to-day is the one which would consign a passage here and a passage there to the waste-paper basket. The other class contend that objections are silenced when it is once understood that the Jewish Bible—the O.T.—is but a fragmentary and incomplete record of God's revelation to man. The full picture, the flower and the fruit, the fulfilment and consummation of all, the crooked places made straight, these are to be found only in the combination of the N.T. with the O.T. If both those views are taboo to us, what are we to put in their place ? How are we to fill up the hollows in the Bible, to complement those portions of it which seem inadequate, to rectify the unevenness of some of its parts and make it shine forth as the message of God, many-sided, but yet complete and balanced ? Our way to this lies, it seems to me, in our giving more popularity and more publicity to the Rabbinical exegesis of the Scriptures. The Pharisee was the lineal successor of the Prophet, the Rabbis were the spiritual descendants of the Priests whose mission it was that they "should teach thy judgments unto Jacob and thy law unto Israel." When a Christian says to me, "Your O.T. only gives the world God's revelation in part, our N.T. gives the other part and thus renders us the complete whole," my answer always is, that we Jews behold the completion, the crown and consummation of the Hebrew Bible, in the great edifice of Rabbinical interpretation built up so laboriously and so lovingly, by men whose desire it was, not to break with the old and found something new, but to show how the old, when it is considered and studied in all its implications and all its deep meanings, is self-sufficient, holding in its own essence the spiritual teachings which will live on even though the mountains depart and the hills be moved. How often in reading a Midrashic homily does one feel that here, and only here, lies the real literal interpretation of the Biblical word or passage. The true understanding of the Bible is rarely procurable by the mere translation of the words, because a translation merely gives the outward sense of the words. The inner sense, the spirit, the warm, living, throbbing thoughts in the brain of the writer, the emotion simmering in his heart, and finally finding expression in the writing—these things require something more substantial than a translation, something far different from what a critical commentary can give. And my experience has been—and, no doubt, it is others' experience too—that the Rabbinical exegesis is frequently the only medium by which this want can be supplied. Further, a study of this exegesis, side by side with a study of the modern Higher Criticism, often reveals this curious fact—that whereas the Higher Critics in order to reconcile two apparently contradictory passages betake themselves at once to the expedient of saying that they belong to different authors, the old Jewish expositors have the knack of solving the difficulty in a way that seems to carry conviction by its very simplicity and spontaneity.

To bring the whole argument of this paper to a head. The Higher Criticism of the Bible is the order of the day. Much of it is brilliant and true. Much of it is audacious and fallacious and " not proven." But the fact that it has come to stay need not make the devout and loving upholder of Judaism feel that he is on the horns of a dilemma in having to choose between the old standpoint and the new. It is not a question of being forced to make a choice at all. The Bible is far too great a book to be dismissed with one, and one only, school of interpretation. By all means let the light fall upon it through all sorts, and any number, of windows. We can study and we can judge and we can know what to accept and what to reject. We can distinguish the wheat from the chaff. We are not going to be frightened, neither is our faith in the eternal verities likely to be ruffled, by the sound of every shaken leaf of newfangled criticism. It is good that we should take hold of this; but that we should not withdraw our hand from that either. We can cultivate the temperament which enables us to look with calmness and with patience upon any amount of critical investigation. For, to finish the verse of Ecclesiastes, " he that feareth God shall come forth of them all."

J. ABELSON.

The Demand for a Jewish Training College for Teachers

Of the making of new Jewish Institutions there is no end. Yesterday it was the B'nei B'rith, to-day it is a Jewish Hospital, and to-morrow it is to be a Training College for Jewish Teachers. Each succeeding agitation stirs the communal thinker to propound still another scheme, to develop yet another organisation, and to institute still another appeal. The Jewish Community sweats and groans beneath its heavy burdens already. Existing institutions are crying out for extended support, and he must be bold who will dare to advocate the creation of fresh demands on the straitened resources of our public life. True, this objection applies with less force to the foundation of a new educational establishment, especially one which, like the proposed Training College for Jewish Teachers, would include Hebrew and Religion in its syllabus. By the number and excellence of its educational institutions may the Jewish Community be judged ; their multiplication can only be regarded as a healthy sign of growth and development. It is many years—if we except the Gabriel Home, which is really an enlargement of the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum—since we added to our list of schools. We have no secondary school, and the consensus of opinion seems to be that we do not want one. What crisis has arisen to lead to the demand for the promotion of a separate Training College for Jewish Teachers ? Are there not a sufficient number of Training Colleges in existence which open their doors to the would-be Jewish teacher ? Indeed, there has been a very material increase in the number of Training Colleges during the past ten years, and some of the older colleges have added to their accommodation by extensions and the provision of hostels. Recent events show that there is not only no difficulty at present in the path of a teacher who wishes to enter a Training College, but there is, as a matter of fact, a kind of struggle between the Colleges to secure students, in order that all their vacancies may be filled.

Why then choose such a moment to agitate for an additional College ?

THE TRAINING OF JEWISH TEACHERS

Twenty-five years ago it was the rule for Jewish teachers to remain in the Schools as ex-pupil teachers after serving their apprenticeship, and to take the Certificate Examination, which is annually held all over the country, and which provides the Government hall-mark for those who wish to have a recognised status in the Elementary School. Of the stalwarts who thus qualified themselves, every one will remember, among others, Mr. L. B. Abrahams, B.A., Mr. E. Harris, M.A., Mr. M. Beryln, Mr. J. Woolf, and the late Mr. A. Raphael, B.A. There are still with us a goodly number of Jewish teachers of the first order who obtained their training in this way. Some of their names are household words in the Community, and they have rendered, and are rendering, to the Jewish Community, yeoman service that cannot be too highly esteemed. The Hebrew training of these older teachers was obtained, almost entirely, in the Voluntary Schools where special instruction was supplied by the managers. Doubtless it varied in quality ; but this method certainly produced men who were shining lights as far as the teaching of Hebrew and Religion was concerned, and several excellent ministers were even recruited from the ranks of these teachers of a past generation.

Since those days Russian persecution has driven large numbers of Jews to our shores. The resources of the Voluntary Schools became insufficient to meet the demands on them, and the Community did not respond by providing increased accommodation. From the Ghetti of our large towns there proceeded a steady flow of children into the neighbouring Board Schools, until the character of whole buildings was transformed, and we were confronted, for the first time, with Public Schools completely swamped by Jewish pupils. In accordance with the prevailing custom, many of the brighter boys and girls were chosen as probationers for Pupil Teachers. They received the usual tuition in the Centres, and so it became possible for a comparatively large number of Jews and Jewesses to qualify as Teachers without any training in the elements of Hebrew and Religion.

THE POSITION TO-DAY

The two decades just gone by have seen a greater change still in the conditions affecting Jewish Teachers. The spread of Day Training Colleges over the country gave the opportunity for Jews to avail themselves of the benefits hitherto limited to their Christian confrères. The numbers demanding training grew each year, until at the present time it is the exception and not the rule for a Jewish teacher to qualify by means of the Acting Teachers' Certificate. Already a goodly number of the Jewish Non-Provided Schools have trained teachers at the head. One has even been promoted to the headship of a L.C.C. School, and the large majority of the rank and file of the younger teachers are likewise trained. The transference of the training from the Voluntary Schools to the Colleges, and the practical abolition of the Pupil Teacher System, have, with some small exceptions, thrown teachers on their own resources as far as Hebrew and Religion are concerned.

EXISTING FACILITIES FOR RELIGIOUS TRAINING

A definite beginning was made when Mr. Israel Abrahams gave a course to the Jewish teachers being trained at King's College, London ; and this beginning gradually led to the foundation of the Teachers' Hebrew Classes which are now held at Gravel Lane on Sundays. The Jewish Training Committee, in making a grant to young teachers, lays down a condition that, while they are at College, they shall attend these classes and pass one or other of the Jews' College Examinations. For the larger number, however, who are not bound by any agreement beyond their own consciences, it happens too often that between the time of leaving the Elementary School and the actual commencement of teaching, no study whatever has been given to Hebrew and Religion.

Such, then, are the facilities that are offered in the metropolis. Nothing whatever is being done in an organised way in the provinces ; and, with a few exceptions, the young teacher is left in a state of open neglect, or is occasionally driven, by individual enthusiasm, to engage the services of a private teacher. The London Classes, at any rate, are designed to be of real help to Jewish teachers. They are conducted by capable men, and the classes are held on Sundays, when no student who is really anxious to learn can reasonably excuse himself on the ground of convenience. Even with such benevolent arrangements it is common to find that young men and young women, pressed by the growing severity of College Examinations or dazzled by the importance of their University work, are not willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their Hebrew qualifications. A pass or fail in these subjects does not affect their chances of being placed on the College list. It does not influence their College testimonials, and it will only count (and then not with too much certainty) if they happen to apply for a vacancy in one of the few Jewish Non-Provided Schools.

The consequence inevitably is that numbers of Jewish teachers are annually qualifying who are not up to standard in Hebrew and Religious teaching. If this tendency is to be perpetuated, if something be not done, and done soon, to ensure that our teachers shall be as well trained for the religious part of their calling as they are for their secular studies, then the future of Judaism is seriously menaced by this deficiency. It is as well to point, also, to the experience of those who have long been connected with our Voluntary (Non-Provided) Schools and Religion Classes. They will have seen a steady improvement in the preparation of the teacher for imparting secular knowledge during recent years; the standard of the Teachers' Certificate has risen considerably, and University qualifications have become increasingly common in our Schools. Teachers are expected to be more ready than formerly to teach Drawing, Drill, and Singing. The substitution of inspection for the old individual examinations has allowed greater liberty to the teacher; and lessons are now given, if not with better method, at least with greater intellectual power than in years gone by. And this is due largely, if not solely, to the better education which the younger teachers have been receiving. But let us turn for a moment to the Hebrew lesson and inquire whether we find that, *pari passu*, the same improvement has taken place in this department. We shall not be so ready to answer in the affirmative. It is not agreeable to contrast the excellent demonstrations which are daily planned and given in the subjects of the ordinary time-table, with some of the soulless lessons which one has had too frequently to endure in the Hebrew and Religion Class, with the teacher sometimes little in front, if not manfully struggling abreast, of the pupils in their range of attainment. What more natural than that those who charge themselves with the responsibility of the Religious training of our young teachers should be deeply perturbed by the present unsatisfactory state of affairs ?

THE PROPOSED COLLEGE

At the last conference of the Union of Religious Classes, Mr. F. S. Spiers, B.Sc., came forward with a bold scheme for the foundation of a Jewish Training College for Teachers as a panacea for our ills.

It is hinted that the Board of Education will favour the establishment of a College erected *ad hoc*, and that a grant, extending in the limit to 75 per cent, may be made to the Building Fund from Government resources. A two-year course, the minimum sanctioned by the Board, is to be arranged, and although religious tests for teachers in Training Colleges are forbidden by Departmental regulation, it is pointed out that the difficulties of engaging a competent staff to give instruction in Hebrew and Religion can be easily overcome in practice.

The students, both male and female, who are to form the College will thus receive their normal training in a religious atmosphere, to which so much importance is attached. The clashing of Sabbath and Holy Days with College lectures will be avoided, and a more complete education in Hebrew and Religion, as well as in the methods of imparting them, will form an integral part of the syllabus. Every year the College will turn out its students well grounded in secular studies and better equipped for the teaching of Hebrew and Religion; and it will send forth its votaries armed with religious zeal, to revivify the dead bones of Judaism in our Schools and Classes. It is a seductive picture, and one that will command the respect of all Jewish teachers—the respect they are ready to give to an ideal, even if it be never destined to pass into reality. It can doubtless be contended that the scheme outlined above is the logical outcome of the conditions which have culminated in the present state of affairs. The Jewish position is, however, nowhere a logical one, even in the comparatively free and untrammelled life we lead in England ; and the practical teacher will readily adduce reasons against the chances of success that may await such a Training College for Jewish Teachers.

SOME OBJECTIONS

Let us assume that the financial obstacles in the way of establishing a new sectarian Training College can be overcome ; that the difficulties of appointing a staff competent to create a Jewish atmosphere can be met ; and that a sufficient number of enthusiasts can be found to enrol themselves for study. It is well known that the more ambitious teachers aim at the three or four year course so that they may add to their qualifications a University diploma in arts or science. Either the proposed College would not attract them—the more intellectual coterie of the Jewish candidates for the teaching profession—or it would have to extend its curriculum and provide a larger and better qualified staff with far superior equipment for training in the arts, and also expensive laboratories for those who would wish to study Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Experimental Psychology, etc. It will be obvious that, for the comparatively small number of students who could reasonably be expected to present themselves, such elaborate accommodation, on economic grounds alone, could not possibly be provided ; and the College would either fail to draw to itself the best student-material obtainable, or be compelled, as suggested later, to lean for support and extended opportunity on some larger educational establishment of University rank. Comparisons are particularly odious in a hypercritical community like ours ; and once start your Training College with an intellectually inferior set of students and you imperil the venture at the outset. Nothing succeeds like success, and Jewish teachers would soon appraise the College at its true worth, and flock to its halls or avoid its vicinity in accordance with the standard reached by its alumni.

A Jewish Training College, moreover, from the very nature of its constitution, could be only a small College. How many influences could be concentrated in its narrow walls, for moulding the character of its inmates ? Apart from studies, there is, in every superior College, a multitude of benevolent forces, which act and react on the young people working there, to develop the best that is in them. There is the sympathy of numbers, the sinking of the individual in the welfare of the general body, the true appreciation of *esprit de corps,* the broadening of one's views by rubbing shoulders with colleagues of other denominations, the mighty appeal of athletics, the struggle to become a member of one of the teams and wear the badge of honour, and the numerous sectional societies which can only be associated with a College counting its students by the hundred. Can Jewish teachers, above any others, afford to segregate themselves from these valuable attractions ? Jewish teachers, like any others, suffer from the defects of their good qualities—the defects of their class ; and it would be no less than a calamity to deprive them, during this formative period in their lives, of those extraneous influences, so indigenous to the Public School life of this country—influences that could either not be provided, or only supplied in a modified form, in the circumscribed precincts of a small separate Jewish Training College.

And what inducement does the proposed Training College offer to Jewish teachers at the end of the course ? Are we to expect the great Education Committees to send their representatives, as they do to other important Colleges, to select candidates ? Or are we to bring pressure to bear on the Managers of the Jewish Non-Provided Schools to give Preferential Treatment to the ex-students of the Communal Training College ? Surely it is only to be expected that headmasters and headmistresses will urge the appointment of the best Jewish teachers to vacancies in their Schools. It may be right that, *ceteris paribus*, the teacher with the special training provided by the sectarian College should be engaged ; but it will frequently happen that the claims of rival candidates will not be equal in other respects, and Managers will be placed on the horns of a dilemma in weighing the relative advantages of the religious teaching over those of the secular teaching.

A recent appointment at one of our Non-Provided Schools would seem to show that the Jewish teacher cannot always be certain of election even in his own sphere of influence when pitted against a Christian teacher of somewhat superior merit.

Even under the most favourable circumstances, however, there is bound to be a number who will have to seek places in the ordinary way among the Council Schools. If one is to judge by the expression of opinion so rife among young Jewish teachers, even after making due allowance for exaggeration, there seems to be an undoubted prejudice against them among Christian Head Teachers. If there be only a small modicum of truth in this statement, then it is an argument *a fortiori* that the prejudice will be increased in the case of teachers who come branded with the sectarian hall-mark, before an unsympathetic tribunal. Picture a headmaster reading over the College records of a few candidates seeking a post in his school. Is he likely to favour a teacher who not only does not remain silent about his Jewishness, but actually shouts it at him from the imprimatur of his Alma Mater—a small obscure Training College, the educational reputation of which is an unknown quantity to him ? Perhaps in those schools where Jewish pupils predominate, the candidate may meet with greater impartiality, yet even there it is not certain. Is there not some justification, however, for rejecting the candidate in an outlying school where Jewish scholars are either few or unknown ? The writer's notice was recently directed to the case of a Jewish trained teacher of high qualifications, applying for a vacancy in such a school. He declared his religion to the Managers and was asked what he proposed to do with regard to the New Testament, as it was somewhat inconvenient for the new teacher to be excused. The candidate offered to teach it as History and not as Religion, and was appointed forthwith.

The illustration may not prove much, but at least it brings into relief the difficulty which Christian Managers must feel in judging the claims of a Jewish candidate. We can imagine the Head Teacher, unprejudiced in other respects, reasoning thus while considering two applications: "If I appoint this one, I must remember he is a Jew. I shall have to reorganise my Scripture Classes and liberate him a certain number of days during the School year. If I appoint the other, I shall have no inconvenience at all." Unless, therefore, the Jewish teacher is superior in other respects, he must be prepared to find that the chances are against his selection.

Is it to be objected that this latter condition will not be affected by the foundation of a Jewish Training College? Once let us admit that the Jewish teacher labours under some disability, and we must cry Halt! to any scheme that will inevitably add to that disability the penalties arising from the diminished importance of the period of College preparation.

It has been stated earlier that every Jewish teacher must be in deep sympathy with the motives that prompted the idea of a new College for our teachers. When one looks round the Schools and sees how largely the mass of children depend, for their Hebrew and Religious instruction, on the certificated teachers, one feels bound to support any movement that has for its object the better training of those teachers for the important work they have in hand. It would be cowardly, on the other hand, not to point the serious finger of warning to the dangers that beset the path of those who would throw in their lot with a separate Jewish Training College. Is there no means of adapting the same idea to a better set of conditions that would give most of the advantages while removing many of the objections referred to ?

A SUGGESTION

The writer begs deferentially to submit a variation of the above scheme to the consideration of those who are pondering deeply on the problem. It is simply to form a Jewish sub-section of a Training College already in existence in London, a kind of *imperium in imperio*, a Jewish "House," if we may so term it, that will bear the same relation to the Day Training College that the College itself bears to the larger establishment of University status of which it is a part. In this "House" students might be resident or not, or both might be included. The teachers who enrolled themselves would enjoy all the advantages of the important Training College to which they belonged, and they would participate in that form of University work that most appealed to them. In the "House" itself the staff could reside or visit; and here the much-vaunted Jewish atmosphere could be created, and instruction could be regularly given in Hebrew and Religion. One wonders whether, as has already been suggested, the authorities of Jews' College would not seize the opportunity and take this important communal work under their wing ? If it is part of their function to prepare teachers of the Jewish Religion, one feels disposed to ask why this should not be done. They are already the recognised examining body for Teachers, and it seems desirable that they should provide the instruction also, by co-opting those ministers and others who have had experience of handling teachers at this trying stage. In fact, it appears that Jews' College, a constituent of London University, is actually inter-changing facilities with one of the great Training Colleges. Such is the sympathetic attitude of the heads of these Colleges that one or two have a well-known minister visiting the Jewish students to give instruction which is officially recognised on the time-table; and so pronounced a sympathy leads us to believe that no obstacle would be raised against the suggested foundation of a Jewish House in connection with one of these Training Colleges.

The classes now held in Gravel Lane could be transferred *en bloc* to the new centre, and the Teachers' Training Committee could limit their grants to those who would join this particular Training College and attach themselves to the Jewish House. In some such way, one might expect to attract the best talent to be found, and it could reasonably be hoped that a really good class of teacher would be turned out with chances of employment no less than those now obtaining, but more acceptable to the Non-Provided Schools, and better able to carry out the requirements of the Religious Education Board and other existing classes.

Whatever scheme should be finally adopted it is certain that the students must be prepared to face extra work in order to complete their religious training; and it seems likely that at first none but the enthusiasts would go through with it. There will always be a number of slackers who will shirk their responsibilities; there will surely, and perhaps rightly, be those who will ask, "What pay are we to expect at the end of it for all this extra preparation?"—and when one thinks of the miserable salaries offered to Jewish teachers in our Schools and Classes for Religious Instruction, one feels inclined to say in angry protest that the community gets the religious teachers it deserves. There will probably be others who will not feel themselves called on to devote some of their spare time and energy to the claims of their religion.

The age at which young men and women enter Training Colleges is a very critical one. The intellect is beginning to ripen, individuality commences to assert itself in more pronounced forms, the thinkers, particularly those who are taking Science and Philosophy, are looking round on the world and questioning the accepted order of things. In this dangerous state of mental transition, the growing adult falls an easy prey to scepticism and other forms of doubt, and if he is allowed to run riot in the realms of unbelief he may end by scoffing at creeds and practices that were once held sacred. It is at this important crisis in the life of a teacher that a guiding influence can be most beneficially exercised, and it is at this period that a tactful adviser can save for Judaism many an erring individual who would otherwise stray from the well-beaten paths. Here is a great call for service to a Jewish Training College for Teachers; in extending its watchful care to the young teacher it will be indirectly rendering incalculable benefits to the children of the community. Little enough importance is attached to this great object; the public conscience is not yet fully aroused. In the meantime let the pioneers go forth with their noble endeavours in the calm assurance that teachers of a succeeding generation "will rise up and call them blessed."

M. Kaizer.

Disputations between Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages

Few incidents in the history of the Jews of the Middle Ages make more melancholy reading than an account of the various public disputations between Jews and Christians which took place from about the eighth to the fifteenth centuries, reaching a climax of importance and interest at the end of that period. For these mock battles had all the sorrow of martyrdom without its glory, all the shame of defeat without its tragedy, all the consciousness of victory without its fruits or triumphs. Heine is far from the truth when, in his witty satire on a medieval disputation, he attributes to both sides of the combatants an anticipation of victory :—

> "Glaubenssicher sind die Mönche
> Von des Gardians Geleitschaft,
> Halten schon Weihwasserkübel
> Für die Taufe in Bereitschaft.
>
> "Schwingen schon die Sprengel besen
> Und die blanken Räucherfässer—
> Ihre Gegner undterdessen
> Wetzen die Beschneidungsmesser."

The Christian, to be sure, was confident of victory, the victory of the sword ; the Jew, whatever the result, could never have looked forward to anything but, at the best, deeper contumely, at the worst, persecution or massacre. Active missionary effort has rarely, if ever, made any appeal to the Jew, who, in the Middle Ages at least, desired nothing better than freedom to live his own life, practise his faith, and study his Law in undisturbed peace. Medieval Christianity was too gross, too far removed—too fundamentally removed—from the simple monotheism of Judaism for there to have been ever a shadow of possibility of purifying the faith of the Catholic Church, even if such a thought had crossed the minds of the Jews who took part in the discussions ; and so from the outset the conflicts were doomed to end in intellectual barrenness as surely as they ended in increased oppression. And yet the disputations could not have been entirely without value, for they must have led to a renewed examination of the text of Holy Writ, deeper consideration of the foundations of faith, and, above all, to a strengthened consciousness on the part of the Jew of the value of that inheritance for the sake of which he was condemned to a life of humiliation and oppression. Was not Jehuda Halevi's *Cusari* itself the greatest apologia in Jewish literature, based upon the real or fictitious disputation between Bulen, King of the Chazars and a philosopher, a Christian, a Mahommedan, and a Jew—a disputation which resulted in the conversion of a whole nation to Judaism ?

And for us, too, the disputations may not be without some living interest and value. Once more the relations between Judaism and Christianity have become a theme of acute controversy in our community, and more important than ever is it for us, now that Ghetto walls no longer confine us within a self-contained life of our own, to understand our position and realise the ideals for which we stand. It is true that the arguments which served our fathers, and, let us hope, secretly discomfited their enemies, will not altogether stand for us, any more than the religious perplexities of our time can be entirely solved by reference to the answers propounded in far-off and different ages, yet there is still something in common between their problems and ours and their battles and ours, and some knowledge and appreciation of how they met the hostile forces of their day will not, I think, be entirely useless to us in our attempts to solve in our own ways our own difficulties. This must be my apology for dealing with what may seem to be but an unimportant and uninspiring page in our history.

Now, although I propose mainly to confine myself to the great public disputations between Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages, dealing principally with the most famous of these held in France and Spain from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, it may not be out of place to refer briefly, by way of introduction, to a few of the earlier, less important encounters, beginning with the scraps of information that have come down to us from the early centuries of Christianity.

If it be true that the Minim so often mentioned in Rabbinical literature refer in some instances to Christians or Judæo-Christians, then we must look to the Talmud itself for the earliest record of disputations between Jews and Christians. I exclude the Gospels, because few will maintain that Jesus or his immediate followers were Christians in the later sense of the term. In T. Jebomoth (102b) we find an allusion to such a controversy between R. Gamaliel II (at whose suggestion the prayer against Minim was introduced into the "Eighteen Blessings") and a Min concerning the interpretation of a passage in Hosea v. 6, while in T. Sabbath (116b) we probably have a reference to a similar controversy in the story of the Christian judge to whom Rabbi Gamaliel quotes the famous words of Jesus: "Not to take away anything or to add anything to the Law of Moses have I come." Other Rabbis, such as R. Joshua, who was famed for his opposition to the Judæo-Christians, are similarly referred to—witness the curious discussion on God's protection of Israel mentioned in T. Chagiga (5b), which took place between this Rabbi and a Min in the presence of the Emperor Hadrian.

It is probable that many of the Talmudic controversies between Rabbis and Sadducees were really directed against the Judæo-Christians; and the well-known one in Sanhedrin (38 and 39), for example, deals largely with the refutation of a plurality of persons in the Godhead, which these so-called Sadducees professed to deduce from passages in the Pentateuch which speak of God in the plural number (" let us make man in our image," and so on).

That discussions, if not disputations, between Jews and Christians were common in Talmudic times is evidenced on the Christian side from the writings of the Church Father, Justin Martyr (*circa* 100–165), one of whose extant works consists of a Dialogue between himself and a Jewish philosopher, Tryphon, which throws sidelights of great interest on the points then at issue between the two sides with regard to the interpretation of the so-called Christological prophecies of the Old Testament. The Tryphon who takes part in the Dialogue, and who, needless to say, finally withdraws discomfited, is the Tanai R. Tarphon who, in T. Sabbath (116a), declares that he will burn all the writings of the Minim which fall into his hands and adds other uncomplimentary remarks concerning the adherents of the new faith.

Another eminent Father of the Church, Jerome, the author of the Vulgate (*circa* 337–420), similarly refers to the frequent disputes that took place in his day between Jews and Christians, and one of his motives for learning Hebrew—he was the only Father who could read the Old Testament in the original—was in order that he might confute with effect the heresies and errors of the Jewish expounders of Holy Writ.

Among the later Rabbis of the Talmud, the Amoraim, who are known to have taken part in these polemics, were the famous controversialist R. Simlai, and R. Abbahu (d. 320), who both attacked all the leading doctrines of Christianity. One example of R. Abbahu's criticism will suffice; it is to be found in Yer: Taanith II. (1): " If a man tells thee 'I am a God,' he lies; if he says 'I am the son of man,' he will repent; if he says 'I will go up to Heaven,' he will not achieve it."

The victory of Catholicism over Arianism in Visigothic Spain gave rise to fierce persecution of the Jews in that classic land of anti-Semitism, persecutions intended for the express purpose of converting the Jews to Christianity. The fourth Council of Toledo (633), however, decided that Jews ought not to be driven by force to accept the doctrines of the Church, so there consequently sprang up a considerable polemic literature designed to effect by reason what could not be brought about by force. Foremost among such writings were the works of Isidorus, Bishop of Seville, and of the apostate St. Julian of Toledo, Primate of Spain (d. 690), the first dignitary of the Church who was of Jewish origin. Isidorus's book, *Contra Judæos*, which collects together in a convenient form all the Biblical texts from which the Christian evidences are derived, long formed the model for subsequent literary adventures of the same type. St. Julian's work was of the chronological type, and it essays to prove from the prophecies of Daniel that the age of Jesus was unquestionably the time of the Messiah foretold by that writer. The controversy would appear to have been a somewhat one-sided affair; possibly the readers of that day had little taste for the soulless theological dialectics of Bishop Isidorus and his friends, and their arguments happily fell on distinctly unfavourable soil. I suspect, if the truth be told, that the masses could not understand them and the Jews did not read them. But this polemical literature effected its purpose none the less, for from the sixth century right down to the expulsion in the fifteenth the Church in Spain continued its campaign by pen as well as by fire and by sword against the religion of its founder, and in the end the incessant output of conversionist tracts, to give them a modern designation, found audible and visible expression in those humiliating public disputations which it is the principal object of my paper to bring before you. In the meantime the Jews were not entirely silent, and from the time of Saadiah (early in the tenth century) onwards, some of the greatest names in Jewish literature occupied themselves with refutations, on both philosophical and exegetical grounds, of the dogmas of the dominant faith, refutations which became the more numerous and widespread as Christian fanaticism and intolerance assumed more and more extreme forms under the repeated stimuli of the Crusade expeditions. The early Christian anti-Jewish writers, however, were satisfied to base their claims on the text of the Old Testament, the acceptance of which at least both sides had in common. The later writers, unhappily recruited from the ranks of the Jews themselves, actually proved from those Rabbinical writings—Talmud and Midrash—which they despised and rejected, that Jesus was the true Messiah promised by the Prophets, and that with his advent passed away all obligation to obey the Law of Moses, and all claim on the part of the Jew to be the chosen of God.

But we are dealing with disputations and not with polemics, and perhaps anticipating somewhat, so let us retrace our steps back to the eighth century, when we come across a reference in the letters of that humanist born out of season, Alcuin (735–804), to the first authentic disputation on record, namely that between a Jew, Julian, and a priest, Peter of Pisa, which took place in Pavia about the year 750–760, and which Alcuin himself witnessed. Legend tells of a controversy between Pope Sylvester I and twelve Rabbis that was held in the presence of the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century, but all the respectable authorities agree in condemning this story to the limbo of apocrypha.

In the Byzantine Empire, disputations between Rabbis and Priests were ordered by the Emperor Basil I (867–886), who decreed that the Jews were either to prove beyond a shadow of doubt the truth of their religion or else admit that " Jesus was the culminating point of the Law and the Prophets." In addition, the wily Macedonian Emperor, who perhaps understood the frailties of human nature better than logic, promised relief of taxation and public honours to those Jews who should be convinced by the arguments of their opponents and consent to baptism. We are not told what penalties were offered to the unconvinced, but we may imagine that these were not ungenerous, seeing that the many Jews who submitted to baptism returned to Judaism on the death of the Emperor.

In France it was Agobard, Bishop of Lyons (779–840), under Louis the Debonair, to whom belongs the distinction of having been the first to stir up hatred against the Jews and their faith, in a series of letters addressed to the King and the leading prelates of the Church, which culminated in the famous epistle, "On the Superstitions of the Jews," issued by a Synod of Bishops at Lyons in 829. The mild and perhaps heretical Emperor was not the man to be moved to persecution by appeals of this kind, and for a time the danger was averted; possibly the commercial importance of the Jews was a factor in the situation not without influence. But, unhappily, Agobard had a worthy pupil and successor in the bishopric in Amulo (d. 852), and although Charles the Bald himself maintained the friendly relations to the Jews that characterised the policy of his father Louis, the policy of mildness and toleration was bound, sooner or later, to be abandoned with the growing influence of the Church, and, notwithstanding a long period of comparative peace, during which flourished some of the immortals of French Judaism, from the poison sown by Agobard and Amulo can be traced the miseries that followed in the succeeding centuries and which led up to the temporary expulsion under Philip Augustus in 1182, and to the more terrible disasters under the pious and holy St. Louis, and the second expulsion of 1306 decreed by Philip the Fair.

It was at Paris, before the Court of St. Louis, that took place the first of the more famous disputations. The Crusades had given the first great impulse to bringing about a realisation of the desire, which in the Dark Ages at least was bound to lie latent in the heart of every faithful Christian, to win over the rebellious Jew to find salvation for his soul in the bosom of the Church, or, failing this, to fight his pernicious doctrines by word and by deed, so as to prevent the faithful from becoming contaminated with the damnable heresies of the people who had the audacity to reject the Messiah and refuse the Gospel which he offered them in place of the Law of their teacher Moses. The Inquisition which, though not created by, came into active being under the Papacy of Innocent III (1198–1216), that arch-enemy of Judaism, gave a fresh impetus to anti-Jewish activities, legalising, so to speak, persecution and regularising effort to bring the Jew within the fold of the Universal Church. But it would not suffice merely to crush the Jew by the application of superior force, the victory must be, ostensibly, a moral as well as a material one, and hence the occasion for public disputations between Jews and Christians which, after every semblance of a fair fight, were to end in triumph for the Church and in discomfiture and outrage for the House of Israel.

The time of which we are speaking, the first half of the thirteenth century, was, indeed, a bitter one for the Jews of France, where, in 1240, the first of this series of disputations took place. After the pillage, torture, and banishment which they had endured in the North under Philip Augustus, the frightful crusade against the Albigenses and the Jews which began the decay of the flourishing and intellectual communities of the Provence, and, above all, after the shameful humiliations imposed upon them by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which branded them as the pariahs of the human race and inaugurated the dark ages of Judaism, the Jews were little fit to endure these mock tournaments of wit and cunning that could only be followed by further disaster to themselves, and to their faith, whether the contest ended in apparent victory or apparent defeat. And yet, in the earlier disputations at least, they went through the ordeal with a confidence, courage, and dignity that are little short of amazing. "Let none but he who is well instructed," said St. Louis, "take part in disputes with Jews," but, needless to say, skill in debate could avail nothing, and the struggle was rendered all the more unequal in that the Jews unhappily had to fight the enemy within, the apostate, acquainted with the weak places in his armoury and who was reckless of consequences in his hatred of his own inheritance when he made known the weak places to the enemy without. At the Paris disputation, it was one Nicholas Donin who played the sorry part of traitor. Donin had been publicly excommunicated in Paris in 1225 by the Tossafist, R. Jechiel, head of the Paris Community and of a great Rabbinical school of 300 students, for having denied the binding force of the Oral Law and the authority of the Talmud, and, as a consequence, he became baptised (1235) and joined the Franciscan Order. To revenge himself against his former brethren, Donin instigated persecutions in Brittany, Poitou, and Anjou, as a result of which some 3000 Jews lost their lives and 500 submitted to baptism. But he desired to revenge himself against the Talmud as well as against his people, so three years after these events he betook himself to Rome and denounced the Talmud to Pope Gregory IX as containing blasphemies against Christianity, against morality, against God Himself, and—here, at least, he was partly speaking the truth—as being the main obstacle in the way of the submission of the Jews to the grace of the dispensation of Christ. Gregory immediately issued bulls to France, England, and Castile, ordering all copies of the Talmud to be seized pending the examination of the accusations which Donin had brought against it. In France alone was this order observed, and on Sabbath morning, March 3rd, 1240, all the copies of the Talmud were taken from the Jews and deposited with the Dominicans and Franciscans. The King of France, St. Louis, thereupon ordered the public disputation already referred to, in which the four most eminent Rabbis of Northern France, Jechiel of Paris, Moses of Coucy (author of the *Semag*), Judah of Malun, and Samuel of Château-Thierry, were to meet the accuser face to face before the Royal Court and a great assemblage of Bishops, and if possible disprove the accusations which he had brought against the Talmud. R. Jechiel, who, both on account of his fame and on account of his previous experience in controversy with the Church, was chosen to reply first on behalf of the Talmud, refused at first to take any part in the controversy, as the Jews were not supposed to be molested in the private practice of their faith, and the Talmud was to them, he claimed, the very foundation of their lives. The Queen-Mother, Blanche of Castile, assured him and his people of her protection, and the disputation, which was carried on in Latin, then proceeded. Jechiel, with great dignity and courage, refused to take the oath which Donin demanded of his opponents, as he was not given to false speaking, and swearing was not in accordance with Jewish law, and the Queen again intervened on his behalf. The Rabbis had to answer two main charges: firstly, that the Talmud contained immoral teachings and blasphemous descriptions of the Deity; and, secondly, that it gave utterance to many abusive remarks concerning Christianity and its founder. The former of these Jechiel had little difficulty in disposing of. With regard to the latter he contended that the " Goy " of the Talmud referred to the heathen not to the Christian, and that the " Minim " were not Christians brought up in their faith, but Jewish apostates or heretics. The Jesus b. Pandera mentioned in the Talmud as an illegitimate son, was not, he maintained in good faith, the Jesus of the Gospels at all, but a heretic who lived two hundred years before the Christian era, and, finally, he pleaded that Nicholas had merely brought these accusations to satisfy his personal malice, seeing that St. Jerome and other Church Fathers who were acquainted with the Talmud had never charged it with being inimical to Christianity. The examination of R. Jechiel, who afterwards compiled a most valuable report of the proceedings, lasted two days (June 25th–26th, 1240), and R. Judah, who had not been allowed to confer with his colleague, was then also heard, but for one day only; the other Rabbis were not questioned at all. A special ecclesiastical tribunal was appointed to pass judgment on the proceedings, and the Rabbis were privately examined a second time. The result was, of course, a foregone conclusion. The Talmud was condemned to be burnt, and although, thanks to the friendly remonstrances of the Archbishop of Sens, some of the confiscated volumes were returned to their owners, two years afterwards, in 1242, the famous burning of the Talmud took place in Paris, when twenty-four cart-loads of sacred books were consigned to the flames. We recall the sad event every year on the ninth of Ab, when we recite the dirge, שאלי שרופה, composed at the time by R. Meir, of Rothenburg, then a student in Paris, as a memorial of the burning of the Law. "They walk in deep darkness hoping for the day when light will once more shine on them and on thee, O our Law!"

The disputation of Paris gave a great impetus to religious controversies in France, and these became frequent throughout the thirteenth century. They were often of a quite friendly character, and of this nature were those in which R. Nathan L'Official, known as "Prince of Polemists," took part. R. Nathan had discussions with many of the great French prelates, discussions characterised by a remarkable freedom of speech, and he even had a contest with Pope Gregory X, when he opened the great Council of Lyons in 1273.

Important as was the disputation of Paris, whether we consider the eminence of the Rabbis who took part in it, the gravity of what was at stake, or the unhappy results which resulted from it leaving their impress on Judaism for many a generation, it must yield in point of interest to the disputation of Barcelona in 1263, in which one of the protagonists was no less a personage than Nachmanides (1194–1270), then in his seventieth year, the chief glory of the Judaism of his generation.

The position of the Jews of Aragon had not, up to the time of which we are speaking, been on the whole an unhappy one, but Jayme I of that country had adopted the theory current in France that the Jews were the personal chattels of the King, and from that time onward they became absolutely subject to the sovereign's arbitrary will. Such a status was not without its compensations in the Middle Ages. Jayme was by no means a cruel despot, but he was deeply under the influence of the Church, in the person of his Dominican Confessor, Raymond of Penjaforte—the predecessor of Torquemada—and as his piety deepened so also did his desire to convert his Jewish subjects to Christianity, and it was in order to give a stimulus to such conversions that the disputation of Barcelona was arranged in 1263, under the presidency of Raymond. Sad to relate, the evil genius of this disputation was, as of that in Paris, likewise a converted Jew, Pablo Christiani by name, a native of Montpellier, who had become a militant missionary Christian of the most fanatical type. Pablo had conducted an unsuccessful missionary enterprise among the Hebrew congregations of the Provence, and it was his failure to make proselytes there, for the Judaism of the Provençals was built firm on a foundation of reasoned knowledge, that induced him to plan the Barcelona disputation by which he hoped to bring about by force the wholesale conversion of the Jews of Aragon. But like all zealots he underestimated the strength of the cause he had to contend against, the genius, courage, knowledge, and resource of his opponent Nachmanides. The debate took place on July 20th, 1263, in the presence of the King and all the great officers of Church and State, and it lasted four days. Nachmanides claimed complete freedom of speech for the statement of his case, a freedom that was readily granted by the King, and, let us add, taken advantage of with fearlessness and dignity, and withal with that courtesy of demeanour and moderation of speech such as one would expect from so cultured and gentle a scholar as Nachmanides. The discussion again centred round the attitude of the Talmud to Jesus and to Christianity. Strange it is, however, that whereas Nicholas Donin attacked the Talmud as being inimical to the Catholic faith, Pablo Christiani contended that the Messianic claims of Christ could actually be proved by reference to the same authority. This curious theory was first put forward by the great Christian theologian Raymond Martin (d. 1284), a man who had a considerable knowledge of Rabbinical literature. Martin's *Pugio Fidei* was for centuries the text-book of the conversionists, and it was on this work that Pablo based his case. The points at issue resolved themselves eventually to the following: (1) Had the Messiah already appeared? (2) Was the Messiah of the Prophets a divine being or a man mortal, born of human parents? (3) Were Jews or Christians in the possession of the true faith? Pablo's whole case lay, as already stated, in his readiness to prove from the Talmud itself that the answer to the first two of these questions was in the affirmative, but by a bold and totally unexpected move Nachmanides cut the ground away from beneath his opponent's feet. The Talmudic passages that Pablo was able to adduce in support of his contentions were naturally Agadic in character, and Nachmanides, to the astonishment of his adversary, declared the Agada to be merely in the nature of sermons expressing the individual opinions of the speaker or preacher, and, unlike the Halachic rules which were of an authoritative character, not binding on the conscience of every believing Jew. Pablo in vain protested against this rank heresy, and the Jews, fearing the vengeance of the Dominicans as a result of too obvious a victory, entreated Nachmanides to bring the discussion to a close. But to this the King would not consent, and so the duel proceeded. Moreover, continued Nachmanides, the Messiah foretold by the Prophets was to inaugurate an age of universal peace and brotherhood, whereas Jesus had brought into the world nothing but strife, cruelty, and injustice. There can be no doubt that dialectically the triumph of Nachmanides was complete ; in the end Raymond de Penjaforte was constrained to admit that the Trinity was so profound a mystery that the angels could not grasp it ; and Nachmanides was dismissed honourably by the King with a parting gift of 300 pieces of gold to defray his expenses. Nevertheless, the Dominicans claimed the victory, and further to vindicate his cause, Nachmanides published his version of the controversy. This was the opportunity Pablo was waiting for ; the Jew's blasphemies had been written down in black and white and denial was impossible. A special commission was appointed to try Nachmanides for having blasphemed against Christianity, and even the goodwill of the King could not entirely shield him from punishment. His pamphlet was condemned to be burnt, and he himself was sent into perpetual exile, and he died in Palestine, whither Jechiel of Paris had also betaken himself, if that can be called exile for a Jew, some seven years after the events we are now narrating. The results of the disputation were disastrous for Judaism. Dissatisfied with the lenient treatment that had been meted out to Nachmanides, Pablo obtained permission to conduct a missionary tour in Aragon and the South of France, and the Jews everywhere were compelled to give him a hearing, and even to defray his expenses. He next appealed to Pope Clement IV, and the result of the appeal was the issue of a bull commanding an examination of the text of the Talmud, and ordering its destruction if the accusations brought against it should be found to be correct. In Spain, thanks perhaps to the influence of Raymond Martin, nothing worse than a censorship of the Talmud, one of the first, if not quite the first of an inglorious race, was instituted, but in France, where pious St. Louis still reigned, the whole Talmud was again condemned to be burnt, and Pablo further induced that King to enforce the edict of 1215 requiring Jews to wear badges. It would appear from one source that the energetic Pablo succeeded in persuading Philip the Bold, the successor of St. Louis, to arrange another disputation at his Court in Paris, this taking place in 1273, and the disputation is said to have led to the massacre of a thousand Jews, but the incident is not well authenticated, although there is nothing unlikely in its having taken place (see *J.Q.R.*, VI, 713).

More than a hundred years—a period of almost unrelieved gloom for the Jews—intervened before the occurrence of another disputation of any importance. In the middle of the fourteenth century the Black Death swept over Europe, carrying away with it, so it is said, one half of the population. In the wake of the pestilence followed the bloodiest massacres the Jews had ever experienced, massacres that annihilated community after community in Central Europe, and which, when they had spent their force, left a remnant sunk in deepest poverty and reduced to a state of intellectual decay such as had never before been reached. In Spain alone there remained some measure of Jewish culture and learning, but even here were no longer to be found intellects of high rank capable of standing up for Judaism as Jechiel and Nachmanides had fought for it a century before, and whether we consider the dramatic interest, the personal element, or the display of learning and ability, the disputations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are not to be compared with those of Paris and Barcelona.

In Spain, the Jews were spared the frightful excesses that the Black Death brought them elsewhere, but they suffered terribly in the civil wars that raged between Pedro the Cruel, who ascended the throne of Castile in 1350, and his illegitimate half-brother, Henry de Trastamara. Pedro's relations to his Jewish subjects were intimate and cordial; his Minister of Finance, Don Samuel Levi Abulafia, was a Jew, and in his conflict with his brother, a conflict that ostensibly arose out of the preference of Pedro for the woman he loved, Maria de Padilla, over the woman he married, the Bourbon Princess Blanche, the Jews were naturally among his warmest adherents. The war raged for nearly twenty years, and during that time the Jews who remained throughout loyal to Pedro suffered terrible disasters at the hands of the usurper Henry. In 1355 many thousands of Jews, men, women, and children, were put to the sword in Toledo by adherents of Henry, and massacres, famine, and pillage at the hands of friend and foe alike at Najera, Burgos, Valladolid, and other towns reduced the wealthy and intelligent Jewish communities of Castile to an unprecedented state of impoverishment and helplessness. Such was the condition of the Jews in Castile when public disputations were revived at Burgos and at Avila in 1375. The war had ended six years previously by the capture and execution of Don Pedro, and Henry then ascended the throne under the title of Henry II. It was in order to please his clerical supporters that Henry instituted these disputations, and, as usual, on two apostates was conferred the honour of attacking and controverting the faith of their fathers, John of Valladolid and his pupil Abner. John's previous essays at conversion had taken the form of lectures and debates in the synagogues, given by command of the King, and these had met with the usual success. Undeterred by precedent, he persuaded the King that public discussions must be held and the Jews compelled, *in coram populi*, to answer his arguments in favour of the truth of Christianity, and with this end in view the disputation of Burgos was held in 1375 in the presence of the Archbishop of Toledo. The champion of Judaism on this occasion was Rabbi Moses ha-Kohen of Tordesillas, a man whose courage had been tested by his sufferings during the civil war, and it would appear from the arguments of John, who set out to prove that all the orthodox dogmas of Christianity, the Trinity, Incarnation, and the Messianic claims of Jesus, were to be found in the Old Testament, that the task of R. Moses was not a difficult one. The disputation was broken off during the fourth sitting, but it was resumed again at Avila, where the whole community was ordered to appear in the church to hear the arguments and where the result was equally abortive. About the same time (December 26th, 1375) a disputation of a similar character was held at Pamplona, in Navarre, with the usual decorative accompaniment of picturesque dignitaries and high ecclesiastics of the Church. Here the protagonists were Cardinal Pedro de Luna, afterwards anti-Pope Benedict XIII, of whom we shall hear more presently, and R. Shem-Tob ben Shaprut of Tudela, a famous controversialist of his day. The subjects of debate on this occasion were the doctrines of Original Sin and Salvation. The novelty of the theme must have been somewhat refreshing after the reiterated attempts to prove to the Jews that Christ had been clearly foretold by their own prophets with the weird examples of Biblical exegesis that invariably accompanied those attempts. Some few years after this disputation, Shem-Tob embodied his arguments in a book, the *Eben Bochan*, one of the most popular polemical works in the Middle Ages. Unfortunately it still awaits publication. The purpose of this book, which is in the form of a dialogue between a Jew and a Trinitarian, was to provide ready material for those Jews who might have to defend their faith against the onslaughts of Christian controversialists, and an interesting feature of it is the inclusion of Hebrew extracts from the Gospels, with critical annotations by the author. This whole period was exceptionally fertile in both Jewish and Christian polemical literature; indeed, the disputations were merely the outward and visible symbol of what was in reality a deadly conflict between the ideals and doctrines, the whole outlook on religion, of the Church and the Synagogue, a conflict which found as natural an expression in literature as it did in massacre. Other polemical works of the fourteenth century worthy of mention in passing are the *Ezer ha-Emunah*, of Moses Tordesillas, the hero of the disputation of Burgos, and above all, the *Ezer ha-Dat*, by Isaac Ibn Pulgar, a Jewish philosopher of considerable originality who lived in the early part of the century. The writings of Pulgar were chiefly directed against the celebrated convert Abner, or Alfonso, of Burgos. Abner was a most interesting character. In his days of grace he had written a super-commentary to a portion of Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Pentateuch, but he became a convert to Christianity, a זקן ממרה, at the age of sixty, an act for which he afterwards disclaimed responsibility on the ground that all man's actions were determined by the movements of the planets. Pulgar's *Ezer ha-Dat* proves the superiority of Judaism to Christianity and the doctrines of sceptics, astrologers, literalists (in the interpretation of Holy Writ), and allegorists. Philosophic Judaism only will bear critical examination. These ancient thinkers of ours had little doubt as to where they stood and what they believed. But we are digressing somewhat, and must return to history.

The fourteenth century, true to its traditions, and as if fearful lest it be overshadowed by its successor, the century of the Great Expulsion, made its exit in a welter of Jewish blood. In June, 1391, as a result of the persistent agitation of Archdeacon Ferrand Martinez, one of the arch-enemies of the Jewish people, anti-Jewish disturbances broke out in Seville, where 4000 Jews were slain and many were baptised. Thence the outbreak spread northwards to Cordova, Toledo, and the whole of Castile, eastwards to the Island of Majorca, and finally to Barcelona, Gerona, and Lerida, in the kingdom of Aragon. For three months the outburst raged, and in every community in Spain, where the annihilation was not complete, murder, baptism, and exile—the "guerra sacra contra los Judios," as it was long afterwards called—reduced the Jews to the same pitiable state as their brethren in Germany had sunk into a generation before at the time of the Black Death. The number who accepted baptism in preference to death must have been very great indeed, and it was from the ranks of these, some of whom had welcomed the opportunity to relieve themselves of the hated burden of Judaism, that there sprang two traitors, Paul of Burgos and Joshua Lorqui, who were afterwards to inflict deep and lasting injury on their former co-religionists. Paul of Burgos, or Paulo de Santa Maria, had been an extremely pious Jew, Solomon ha-Levi, before his conversion, and had even acted as Rabbi in his native town of Burgos. In 1391, the year he was baptised, he was forty years of age, and he ascribes his change of faith to the convictions induced in him by the study of St. Thomas Aquinas. It may with more certainty be ascribed to his overpowering ambition for place and power, an ambition impossible to satisfy after the tragic events of 1391, so long as he remained a Jew. Once converted, he prepared himself to take holy orders, and as a priest his rise under the patronage of the proselytising anti-Pope Benedict XIII was rapid and assured. He became successively Archdeacon of Trevino and Bishop of Cartagena, and in 1406 he was appointed by Henry III, King of Castile, keeper of the royal seal, and finally guardian of his infant son. From the moment of his conversion to the time when he had attained to the summit of his ambition, Paul put forward every effort to induce his brethren to embrace the religion in which he himself had found salvation, and preferment, and his appeals falling on unheeding ears, he proceeded to attack Judaism itself with all the knowledge, skill, and violence at his command. His attacks were not allowed to pass unchallenged, and a remarkable letter was addressed to him by a young physician, formerly one of his pupils, Joshua Ibn Vives, in which his alleged motives for changing his religion were cunningly satirised, and the humble petition put forward that he, Paul, should bring home to his anxious pupil the convictions that had prompted him to embrace Christianity. Chasdai Crescas, too, last of the glorious line of the great Jewish philosophers, came forward to vindicate Judaism, and in his *Tratado*, written in Spanish in 1395, he discusses dispassionately and philosophically the unreasonableness of Christian doctrine compared with the simplicity of the Jewish faith.

Another controversial work of the period deserving of mention is a letter (known as אגרת אל תהי כאבותיך) written in 1396 by the philosopher and grammarian Profiat Duran to a friend, who, like himself, had been forcibly baptised in 1391, but, unlike him, had afterwards relapsed again to Christianity by the persuasions of Paul of Burgos. The letter takes the form of a satire, one of the finest of its kind, in which the writer adjures his friend to remain a Christian, " since the Holy Spirit must have rested on thee and given thee a heart to understand . . . that faith alone can guide thee—the righteous man shall live by his faith—and reason be only a snare. . . . *Be not like thy fathers* who believed in one God only and understood not that—' Hear, O

Israel, the Lord thy God, the Lord is One' does not signify that God is One but Three . . ."—and so the letter proceeds ironically affecting to eulogise Christianity, while in reality incisively criticising its very foundations. Here is another passage worth quoting: "*Be not like thy fathers* who read philosophy and wisdom in the story of Creation, and of the Garden of Eden, Adam, Eve, and the Serpent, but take all of these literally, and in addition believe that for Adam's sin Man would be cursed here and hereafter had not the Saviour redeemed him from death." Then speaking of Paulo de Santa Maria, he says: "Thou hast told me of all his glory and greatness, how he was created in the image of God, and how he would become Pope . . . but I do not know whether Rome or Avignon will be his goal," sarcastically referring to the Papal schism then dividing the Catholic world.

We are told that it took the ecclesiastical authorities quite a time to find out that the letter, which was widely circulated as a pamphlet, was really a satire. When it had dawned upon them they burnt it.

But to return to Paul of Burgos. His rise in the hierarchical scale allowed him more and more opportunity to give vent to his hatred of the Jews politically, as well as controversially, and when on the death of Henry III he became regent in Castile he was instrumental in the publication of the infamous edicts of 1412 which established Ghettos (Juderias) by law, placed the most galling and impossible restrictions on the movements and commercial activities of the Jews, and finally imposed upon them personal humiliations of the most cruel type, or, as an alternative, baptism. The leading spirit in the conversionist activities of the day was an eloquent Dominican preacher, Vincente Ferrer (1350–1419), who had been confessor to the anti-Jewish anti-Pope Benedict XIII, but who afterwards travelled throughout Europe, everywhere stirring up the enthusiasm of the populace for Christ by inflaming their minds against heretics and Jews whose existence as such he believed to be a menace to Christianity. Ferrer's campaign in Spain was appallingly successful, the total number of converts he made in Spain being variously estimated from 35,000 to 200,000. It was these conversions that were directly responsible for the establishment of the Inquisition in Spain, and ultimately for the expulsion in 1492. It was Ferrer who, in 1391, had performed the miraculous transformation of Rabbi Solomon Levi of Burgos into Paulo de Santa Maria, and another of his worthy disciples was Joshua Ibn Vives Lorqui, who became the Maestro Geronimo de Santa-Fé ("Megaddef"), a Jewish physician with considerable knowledge of the Talmudic writings. So deep was his knowledge that he could prove from the Talmud, as many such another had done before him, that Jesus was the true Messiah of the Jews, and he had little difficulty in persuading his friend, Pope Benedict III, who as Pedro de Luna had taken part in the disputation at Pamplona, to arrange another disputation on the grandest possible scale in order to turn over to Christendom the Jews of Aragon *en masse*, if not the whole Jewish people. And so was conceived the great Disputation of Tortosa, the most imposing, the longest, and perhaps the most disastrous in the whole history of these encounters. The permission of the King, Ferdinand III, having been obtained without difficulty, every community in Aragon was required to send its foremost scholars to take part in the debate. Refusal would have been perilous, and eventually twenty-two of the leading Jews of Aragon, Rabbis, scholars, and heads of communities, assembled at Tortosa under the leadership of Don Joseph Ibn Vidal, a physician of wide culture, a Latin scholar, and an accomplished orator, and included among their number were the philosopher Joseph Albo, Bonestrie Desmæstre, the leading Jew of Gerona, who attended at the special invitation of the Pope, and Astruc ha-Levi, a Talmudic scholar of great knowledge and breadth of mind, who has left us a report of the proceedings. On these fell the brunt of the discussion.

The disputation was opened by an address from the Pope himself, given in great state on February 7th, 1413, in the presence of a concourse of a thousand people, and it lasted, with constant interruptions, until November 12th, 1414, after sixty-eight sittings had been held. The campaign against the Jews was, of course, conducted by Geronimo de Santa-Fé, who, while the disputation was proceeding, composed two tracts, *Contra Perfidiam Judæorum* and *De Judæis Erroribus ex Talmuth,* full of the most impossible absurdities, designed to prove from Jewish sources that Jesus was the true Messiah and Son of God, and that the Christians and no longer the Jews were the chosen of God pointed to in numberless passages of the Bible. No opportunity was given to the Jewish speakers to vindicate their faith, as Nachmanides had vindicated it at Barcelona, for the Christian religion was true beyond all discussion ; so ruled the Pope. One question only was to be discussed : did the Talmud recognise Jesus as the Messiah or not ? The proceedings were at first conducted by the Pope with every appearance of friendliness, but the text of Geronimo's first address must have indicated at once to the hapless Jews the lines that the conflict was sure to follow. " If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land : but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword " (Isa. I. 19, 20). Further, Geronimo's attack was full of scholastic subtleties, and the Jews begged to be relieved from the necessity of replying to these, since Judaism, they asserted, was based on tradition, and not on syllogisms. And so the discussion proceeded. Even had a Nachmanides pleaded the Jewish cause there had been little hope of victory ; but the Jewish spirit had been crushed and broken by a century of fiercest wrong, and the defenders of the Faith were no match for the strength and cunning of the forces arrayed against them. The arguments of Geronimo were too absurd to be refuted on his own grounds, and the Jews had not the spirit to unmask his hollowness on the broad grounds of rational principles such as Nachmanides had employed in refutation of Pablo Christiani. Sixty-two fruitless days passed, and the Jews still showed no signs of yielding. Then at the Pope's command Geronimo changed his tactics and reviled the Talmud and its teachings with all the time-honoured accusations that had been handed down from the days of Nicholas Donin, nearly two centuries before. And now, stirred to action by the malicious falsehoods of their opponent, the Jews displayed some real courage, and at the sixty-fifth meeting Joseph Albo and Astruc ha-Levi handed in a declaration in defence of the Talmud demolishing the whole fabric of falsehoods that had been urged against its teaching by Geronimo. Further, they declared, precisely as Nachmanides had done before them, that the arguments brought from the Agadic portions of the Talmud in support of the Christian thesis could carry no weight with Jews, who did not accept the Agada as authoritative. Don Astruc made a telling point against the Pope himself. Benedict had taunted the Jews with believing that the Messiah was born on the day of the destruction of the Temple. "Lord and Pope," cried Astruc, "you believe so many improbabilities about your own Messiah, let us believe this single one regarding ours." Two Rabbis only refused to be a party to the renunciation of Agadic authority, Joseph Albo and Nissim Ferrer. Notwithstanding this unfortunate division of forces in the Jewish ranks, not the slightest impression had been made on them by the arguments, or the threats, of their opponents, so with the object of terrifying them into submission crowds of converts, the fruits of one of Vincent Ferrer's proselytising tours, were brought into the assembly hall and made to repeat the Christian confession of faith, in order that the Jews might realise how desperate was their position, how slender their hopes. But all in vain. Not a hair's breadth did the Rabbis yield, and all hopes of a great final triumph for Christianity were for ever frustrated. The great disputation at last came to an end. Heine would have said "Welcher recht hat, weiss ich nicht," but on the side of the Church was might if not right, and a Papal bull of eleven clauses was Benedict's last word in the controversy. By this ordinance the Jews were prohibited from studying the Talmud, all copies of which were to be confiscated. No community was permitted to possess more than one scantily furnished Synagogue. No manner of intercourse, whether social or commercial, was to be allowed with Christians. The Jews were to fill no public office, were to engage in no handicraft, were not even to practise medicine. Every Jew was to wear a red or yellow badge, and every Jew over the age of twelve was to be compelled to listen to a Christian sermon three times a year, and at its conclusion to hear the recital of this Christ-like bull. The bull as such was never actually put into operation, for in the year following its issue (1415) Benedict was deposed by the Council of Constance. But almost every one of its provisions was eventually enforced, and for the Jews of Spain its promulgation was the beginning of the end of all things.

The greatest of the disputations was also the last of any importance, and although there are on record a considerable number of discussions between Jews and Christians at the various Courts of Spain, Portugal, and Italy of a more or less friendly character, sometimes on points of Biblical and Talmudial interpretation, sometimes on philosophical subjects, and sometimes on Jewish and Christian doctrine, these were in no sense public disputations, and even if time permitted me to tell you of them they would be outside the scope of this paper. The source of most of these (some of them legendary, according to Loeb) is the Shebet Jehudah, a history of the persecution of the Jews by Solomon Ibn Verga, a Spanish historian who died in the sixteenth century, a book which also includes a description of the Tortosa disputation.

The Judaism of our fathers was anything but a passive confession of faith; it was a reality which they were prepared actively to defend with the word, written and spoken, no less than with their lives, when this was the sacrifice they were called upon to make. True, they entered the lists with reluctance and with a heavy heart, but once they accepted the challenge thrown down by Christianity they met it with dignity and valour, and the best minds amongst them put forth all their strength, not only to defend their own faith, but likewise to protest, with courage truly admirable in face of the overwhelming display of physical force arrayed against them, against the beliefs and the lives of those who professed the religion of love taught by the Gospel. The Christianity of the twentieth century has largely outgrown the Catholicism of the Middle Ages but it is still its lineal descendant, and whilst there will never, we hope, be occasion to recur to polemical methods that have long ago passed away, Judaism still stands for a conception of God and an ideal of life that is all its own, and it has still its message to deliver and its protest to make against even the highest manifestations of modern Christianity.

F. S. Spiers.

The Palestine Land Company of 1854

A Historical Note

In the *London Jewish Chronicle* of April 12th, 1854, there appeared the following advertisement :—

PALESTINE LAND COMPANY.

Provisionally Registered Pursuant to Act of Parliament.

Solomon Sequerra, }
Alfred Hall, } *Promoters.*

The object of this Company will be to raise a fund by Shares, for the purpose of enabling the descendants of Israel to obtain and to cultivate the land of Palestine.

The further announcement of Trustees and Directors will be made when general sanction has been given to the object of the Company, and when it is satisfactorily ascertained that it is in conformity with the will of the Hebrew nation.

The ways and means of effecting the object in view may, without much difficulty, be clearly stated in a few words.

In the first place, the *means.* These will consist of a large amount of Capital, which will be realised by the sale of a great number of small Shares, such as are suited to the convenience of the poorest artisan. And there is every reason to feel satisfied that, directly this step has been accomplished and it is shown that it is calculated to bring about the prosperity of Palestine, and to establish a powerful and influential nation, we shall have the land freely guaranteed to the Trustees of this Company, by both the Sultan of Turkey and the Pacha of Egypt, who are interested in seeking the accomplishment of this object.

And, secondly, as to the ways. It is said that at the present time there are some millions of the Hebrew nation living in various parts of the world ; it has been conjectured that the number may not be short of nine millions. All have their highest hopes fixed on the ultimate splendour of the future kingdom, which is not only panted for by the zealous Jew, but also by the pious Gentile, whose aspirations are likewise kindled in favour of that land of promise. Of these millions of Jews, it is confidently believed that a hundred thousand are ready at a moment's notice to avail themselves of any safe opportunity that offers for their restoration to the land of their ancestors. And as colonization progresses, numbers will speedily follow, the only obstacle in the way being a want of proper protection, which this Company will afford.

Every working man has it in his power, with the aid of prudence and economy, to possess a share or shares, by the simple saving in his personal expenses of a sixpence or a shilling a week, which can be deposited in a Savings' Bank, until we have received the sanction of influential Trustees, and have fully matured our plans.

We take this opportunity earnestly to appeal for sympathy and support, and we are not unwilling, if required to do so, to make personal sacrifices as a test of our sincerity for the object we are resolved to accomplish.

Communications are invited to be addressed to the Promoters, 9, Bury Street, City.

The advertisement appeared only once ; but although the plan therein set forth was abortive, it is none the less interesting. For it contains noteworthy anticipations of some of the characteristic features of the present Jewish Colonial Trust, the Jewish National Fund, and some of the Palestine Land Companies. According to this plan, the purchase of the land was to be by small shares, so that it would be " the Hebrew Nation," and not a few wealthy men alone, who would restore the glory of Palestine and effect the " restoration to the Land of their ancestors." Working on this democratic basis, the promoters of the scheme confidently believed that a hundred thousand Jews would come forward at a moment's notice to return to the land of their fathers. Their hope would have been better founded had they looked forward to a hundred thousand sons of Israel buying shares in the company while remaining in their various lands of Galuth ; for this numerical democratisation of the movement has been realised in modern Zionism in the case of the Jewish Colonial Trust.

In essence the plan is an anticipation of the Jewish National Fund, which was first suggested in modern Zionism by the late Professor Hermann Schapira, of Heidelberg. Like the Jewish National Fund, its object was the permanent acquisition and cultivation of land in Palestine ; and like the Jewish National Fund, it looked to " the poorest artisan " for the subscription of its capital. It differed, however, from the Jewish National Fund in that the contributions were to be obtained not by voluntary gifts, but through the purchase of stock, as in the case of the Jewish Colonial Trust.

Thus, the plan contains that combination of idealistic striving and business methods that is so characteristic a feature of modern Zionistic effort. Indeed, it contains implicitly practically every element of the Basle Programme. Its aim was to create for the Jewish people a publicly legally-secured home in Palestine. It hoped to achieve this aim by the promotion of the settlement in Palestine of Jewish agriculturists, handicraftsmen, industrialists, and men following professions. It looked to *inter*national Jewry for the means of achieving its ends. It looked forward to the sanction of the Sultan of Turkey and the Pasha of Egypt; and the only feature of the Basle Programme that it does not anticipate is the one aiming at "the strengthening of Jewish sentiment and national consciousness." This apparently was not considered necessary. For the promoters of the plan set out with even a more magnificently serene hope than did modern Zionism, that it would be a comparatively easy task to kindle the imagination of the Jewish people, and go forward to successful reoccupation of Palestine within a few brief years.

This optimism of the founders of the Company was sublime. For them there was no political difficulty to be anticipated. In truth, had political Zionism been able to organise itself in 1854, it would then have been easier of realisation than it has ever been since with the growing complications and ever-increasing delicacy of the Eastern question.

There is little more that need be said about this stillborn plan. The year 1854 was one of great distress in Palestine. Jewish eyes were turned towards the land of Israel, and money for relief was sent thither in large sums. It was at this time that Monsieur Albert Cohn, the President of the French-Jewish Consistorial Committee of Charity, was sent to Palestine on a mission to organise schools, charitable institutions, and societies, to encourage the arts and trades and agriculture, and to found a Hebrew journal. Sir Moses Montefiore was also actively thinking and working for the rehabilitation of the land of Israel. It was in the following year that he paid his fifth visit to Palestine.

The immediate forerunner of this Palestine Land Company seems to have been an "Association for Promoting Jewish Settlements in Palestine." Mr. Sequerra, one of the two promoters of the Land Company, was the honorary secretary of that Association. At a meeting of the Association held on February 11th, 1853, letters were read from the Jews in Amsterdam, Dresden, Prague, Frankfort, and Vienna, stating their willingness to join and assist the objects of the Association as soon as the Jews of England moved in the cause. But the Association did not succeed in moving the Jews of England, for it appears to have been nothing more than a paper organisation, sustained presumably by the enthusiasm of Mr. Sequerra. When Mr. Sequerra's energies were diverted to the formation of the Palestine Land Company, we may assume that the "Association for Promoting Jewish Settlers in Palestine" was allowed to die.

It should be added that Solomon Sequerra was a man of some little note in the London community of the time. The records of the London Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue show that he was President of the Congregation in the years 5616 and 5617. This was a position of influence and importance that could be held only by men of some standing. Mr. Sequerra died in the spring of 1871. Of Mr. Alfred Hall, I know nothing.

D. de Sola Pool.

New York.

Reviews of Books

Light from the Ancient East. Adolf Deissman. The New Testament illustrated by recently discovered texts of the Græco-Roman World. Translated by L. R. M. Strachan, M.A., with 68 illustrations. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1910 (8vo.), xl.-514. 16s. net.

A MEDIEVAL legend tells of a man who for some reason or other had got into the good graces of the Supernatural Powers, who signified their approval of his action by offering him some lumps of coal. He took them home, and in the morning, lo ! the coals had been transformed into lumps of pure gold.

Something akin to this miracle has happened to the author of this fascinating volume, no less full of new light than that of his *Bible Studies*. For if there has ever been such a transformation from the things apparently worthless into things of paramount importance, fragments of papyri, potsherds, ostraka, and similar things thrown away thousands of years ago have now been found as the representatives of the life of the Demos, much more true, much more serious than any artificial writing. For the Demos, the people of the lower classes, have now come to their own. The real life of the toiling masses of the East stand clearly revealed in these simple, homely documents with pictures of the inner life, never intended to be seen by strangers' eyes. Moreover, the language in which they are written has nothing in common with the stilted, refined, artificial product of the literature of the higher classes.

It is now Prof. Deissman's great merit to have drawn attention to these interesting but not fully appreciated remnants of the past, in order to obtain a new and quite unlooked-for comment for the better understanding of the Greek Bible. This book, which is the cornerstone of modern civilisation, the most remarkable monument of the Jewish Hellenistic literature, has peculiar linguistic features of its own which had hitherto been the despair of philologists, the easy target of supercilious critics.

It was to the student of classical literature nothing but a monument of Greek jargon ; a Greek which had been artificially moulded and changed by the Jews, an example of Semitic incompetency to deal adequately with the syntactical subtleties of the Greek language. Prof. Deissman has now fully vindicated the unique character of the Greek Bible. It is a faithful expression of the language of the time, and has retained for us an invaluable treasure of words and forms which prove it to have been the very book written by the people and for the people. Thus it is the finest representative of the intermediary stage, between the classical Greek and the Koinē, then to become the modern Greek. After having brilliantly proved his thesis regarding the Old Testament, Prof. Deissman now uses these materials for a new interpretation of the origins of the New Testament. The style, the language, the figures of speech, the allusions, all stamp these writings as popular literature in the fullest sense of the word, and receive complete illustration from the contemporary popular writings preserved in letters on papyri and ostraka. A series of private letters included in this volume gives a glimpse of unsurpassed naturalness into the life of the people. These letters are mostly in Greek. They range over a period of five or six centuries starting from the 2nd B.C.E. All these emanate from the lower classes. They are written in an unconventional style by those who did not aim at a literary production, and merely expressed their own intimate feelings. We find here a letter from husband to wife on household duties; a lame excuse for continued absence from home; a master to his slave; a landowner, or rather a peasant, to the official taxgatherer; a naughty boy to his father, and a young man to his family. The latter (No. 24, page 168) is a touching expression of filial love and duty from an Egyptian young man who volunteers for service in the Roman army, and tells his family at home of his adventures, and of his final settlement in marriage in Italy. There are other documents equally interesting which bring us into intimate touch with the life of two thousand years ago. All these are reproduced in admirable facsimiles. The Greek texts are, moreover, printed and translated, but what adds to the importance and value of their publication is the commentary of Prof. Deissman, who is endowed with poetical imagination, and, from a single line, is able to reconstruct the whole situation and completes the picture often only faintly indicated in the text.

It is thus a book full of new suggestions. Add to this the number of admirably executed illustrations, and the care the author has taken to translate every Greek quotation, the beautiful translation—due to the excellent work done by Mr. Strachan, who rendered it into English—the copious indexes, and it is easy to imagine how useful and instructive this new book of Prof. Deissman must be to every student of the language and life and people at the time when the New Testament was written, and at the time preceding it.

PRAYERS FOR VENGEANCE

Pages 423ff. of Prof. Deissman's book claims our special attention. This part is entitled "Jewish Prayers for Vengeance at Rheneia." Two marble tablets of about twenty-two inches long were found in Rheneia, in old Great Delos. They are now in the Museums of Bucharest and Athens. Both contain practically the same inscriptions; the only real difference is that for the name of Heracleia on the one that of Martheina is found on the other. Ever since their discovery they have excited the keenest curiosity. Some put them in the second century B.C.E., others as late as the eighth century C.E. They were in turns considered of pagan, Christian, and Jewish origin. The last to study them is Prof. Deissman, who devotes many pages to a minute examination of every word and phrase. He also comes to the conclusion that they are of Jewish origin, and belong to the second century B.C.E. Hence the interest attached to these tablets, which are called "The Prayer for Vengeance."

Before proceeding any further I reproduce here the translation of the first tablet, as given by Prof. Deissman, p. 435: "I call upon and pray the Most High God, the Lord of the spirits and of all flesh, against those who with guile murdered or poisoned the wretched, untimely lost Heracleia, shedding her innocent blood wickedly: That it may be so with them that murdered or poisoned her, and with their children; O Lord, that seeth all things, and ye angels of God, Thou before whom every soul is afflicted this same day with supplication, that Thou mayest avenge the innocent blood and requite it again right speedily!"

According to Prof. Deissman, these tablets commemorated a curse uttered by the whole Jewish congregation at this solemn day when all the souls are "afflicted with supplication" (i.e. on the Day of Atonement) on the unknown murderer of the innocent Heracleia.

How utterly at variance with facts this interpretation is will be my intention to prove, however briefly. I need not state that such a practice is absolutely unknown among the Jews.

If at any time such a curse had indeed been uttered, it would not be recorded on a marble tablet, nay, repeated twice on the same tablet; for this prayer is found on the obverse and reverse of the Heracleia Tablet. It occurs then again on the Martheina Tablet, and would point to a peculiar general custom, of which, however, no other example is known. What could be the object of this inscription twice repeated on a stone of so small a size, covered with writing on both sides? It could not be a gravestone; none were in use at that remote period. And the tenon at the bottom shows that it must have been fixed somewhere.

It is the curious misunderstanding of this formula which has led all the scholars astray, from Wilhelm down to Deissman. All are agreed that the formula is more or less a collection of phrases from the Septuagint. This is the reason why the prayer has been included in the present volume. It is surprising that all these scholars should not have searched the Scriptures thoroughly, as they were bound to do. The real difficulty begins with line 10 of the Heracleia Tablet. How do the angels come into this prayer, and what does "the day when every soul is afflicted with supplication" mean?

The author fixes the second century B.C.E. as the date of these inscriptions. Assuming them to be so old, even then, on his own showing throughout his book, the popular Greek of this period had undergone a considerable change. The words had also obtained a somewhat different meaning. "Pharmakon," by which the innocent Heracleia and Martheina died, was no longer a "poison" or even "a poisoned love-philter," but a "magical philter" of charms or sorcery brought about their undoing; hence the difficulty, nay, impossibility, of discovering the guilty. The prayer formulæ used by a Jew, Samaritan, or early Christian is therefore an appeal to God to avenge the innocent blood which had thus been shed by invisible foes.

There can be no doubt that we have here a certain formula of symbolical prayers and curses as found in the *Tabulae defixionum*, and on the Tablet of Hadrumet and other similar half-magical, half-religious curses and incantations of the last centuries before the Christian Era and then on to the fifth and sixth centuries.

The second half of this formula forms part of the ancient eschatology, and here the interpretation has gone entirely wrong. A sentence like this, "every soul is *afflicted* this same day with *supplication*," cannot by any stretch of imagination make good sense. The real translation should be: "every soul is visited on that same day with punishment or guilt." It refers to the *last day of judgment*, when every soul will have to appear before the Eternal Judge, and all crimes will be made manifest and the wicked punished. To God, the Judge of the Last Day, the vengeance for the murder of the innocent is left: for Him to punish the guilty who had escaped human justice. The Prayer rests on Deut. xxxii. 35–43. Verse 35 : " In the day of vengeance I will requite." The very same Greek words, *hemera ekdikeseos*, *ib.* verse 41, tell of the hands of God taking hold of judgment, etc. But verse 43 gives us not only a further corroboration of this eschatological interpretation of the Prayer, but will also show the source of " the angels " which have puzzled all the commentators of the prayer. The English translation of this verse, according to the Septuagint, runs as follows : " Rejoice, ye heavens, with him, and let *all the angels* of God worship him [rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people], and let all the sons of God strengthen themselves in him [for he will avenge the blood of his sons] ; and he will render vengeance and recompense justice to his enemies [and will reward them that hate him] ; and the Lord will purge the land of his people." Here are the angels who rejoice with the Lord, and they are mentioned in connection with the judgment and recompense, when " He will avenge the blood of his sons." In the Prayer the unfortunate Heracleia and Martheina are substituted for the sons for whom God " requites justice to his enemies." What more appropriate quotation from the Bible for such a prayer ?

It is passing strange that the scholars who have hitherto endeavoured to interpret the prayer should have missed this obvious and clear reference to these Biblical passages, and should have made such a " curse " part of the Jewish liturgy, and suggested the introduction of such a peculiar prayer for two persons only into the Service of the Day of Atonement, and to assert that such an isolated incident, if it ever happened, should have been permanently recorded on two small marble tablets. The reference to Eisenmenger (Deissman, p. 431) should have sufficed to explain the real meaning and origin of the Prayer ; the quotation there is also from Deut. xxxii. 43. The final expression " quickly " is another proof of its true character, for it is the usual termination of almost every incantation or magical prayer. That close dependence on the LXX is of decisive importance for determining the origin of the Prayer. For if we compare the Greek translation of the verses mentioned above with the Hebrew original it will be found that they do not agree.

The Greek has either a double or even more amplified translation of verse 43, or an agadic interpretation added to the more or less literal translation of the Hebrew original. In order to bring out this difference the portion agreeing with the Hebrew has been enclosed within square brackets. The "angels," e.g., have no counterpart in the Hebrew, and yet they figure in the Prayer. Furthermore, verse 35 agrees in the Greek more with the Samaritan recension: both read "*the Day* of vengeance and requital"; the Hebrew has "*mine* is the vengeance and requital," *Le-yom* instead of *li*. If I lay stress on these points it is in the first place to show that the author of these "Curses" knew *only* the Greek translation of the Bible, and *not* the Hebrew. He borrowed exclusively his terminology and his eschatology from the Septuagint and not from the Hebrew. This fact alone ought to modify the opinion on the origin of the "Prayer."

By these facts the authorship and date must of necessity be affected. A Samaritan as well as an early Christian may just as likely have composed such Prayers as a Jew. All agree in the belief of a last Day of Judgment, and all knew the Greek translation of the Bible. There can no longer be any question of the "Day of Atonement" or anything specifically Jewish being referred to in these Prayers.

The date of the translation is affected by the use of the peculiar translation of verse 43. It must be left to students of the LXX to decide whether this amplified or double translation belongs to the oldest form of the LXX—rather unlikely—or whether it is one of the numerous doublets due to Hexaplaric glosses which have crept into the text from the marginal variants. Some time must have elapsed before such an amplified text could have reached Delos and been taken as the authentic Greek counterpart of the Hebrew verity. Instead of the second century B.C.E., I would be inclined to place it nearer the second century after C.E. This would also fit in with the history of such Tablets of Prayers, Curses, etc., on unknown foes, to which these Prayers unmistakably belong.

But we can go one step further and declare these Prayers to be of Christian origin. The author of the Prayers would practically be quoting the Epistle to the Romans II. 5, 6 ("treasurest up . . . according to his works"), or at any rate be influenced by this statement and use the more amplified original in Deuteronomy from which Paul himself had borrowed the quotation.

M. GASTER.

The Immanence of God in Rabbinic Literature. By J. Abelson, M.A., D.LIT. Macmillan and Co., Limited. 1912.

THIS book is a most valuable contribution to Rabbinic theology. It is written in the spirit of the most up-to-date religious apologetics. Mendelssohn's dictum that every religious community is saved within its own religion, excellently summed up the mood of the eighteenth century. For, since the weakening of the Catholic Church by the Reformation, there was no religious organisation powerful enough to impose its authority on dissenters ; and public opinion, which, according to Carlyle, was in the eighteenth century largely dominated by Voltaire, if it cared for salvation at all, repudiated any claim to it on the part of any single religion. It was only late in the nineteenth century that religion as a science *per se* commenced to be studied ; it was sifted and stripped of all accretions and studied empirically and psychologically, without any ulterior motive or bias. The result is, as Dr. Abelson points out, " that a religion can only hold its ground to-day provided its fundamental doctrines and demands are in keeping with the findings of modern empirical science. One of the most obvious tendencies of the religious thinking and writing of to-day is that of shifting the centre of gravity of religion away from the idea of authority to that of experience. . . . The apologists of Christianity to-day attempt to bring it into line with modern empirical science by showing how the wonderful power and irresistible fascination which Jesus wielded over primitive Christianity were due, primarily and essentially, to his direct *experience* of God ; and how this experience of God gradually found its way into the hearts of His followers, binding them together in a fellowship with the Divine. . . . Well, assuming that this is a correct deduction from the written records, what has Rabbinical Judaism to say for itself ? Must it confess to its exclusion from such an inheritance ? Is it shorn of the prerogative of having enjoyed the mystical experience of union with God such as is claimed by the first stages of Christian history ? "

The second of the " claims which are made by present-day Christian thinkers for Christianity exclusively" is the immanence-idea of God.

" There is a widespread impression that the Jewish theological thinkers of O.T. as well as N.T. times confined their horizon wholly to the transcendence of God. It was left, say they, for Pauline and Johannine Christianity, with their mystical teachings on the Holy Spirit which dwells in man and unites him with God, to complement and correct this one-sided view of religion; and thus, by bridging the gulf between God and man, to give the world the first complete understanding of the truest and worthiest relationship between man and his heavenly Maker" (p. 12).

It is the vindication of these claims for Rabbinical Judaism that forms the theme of Dr. Abelson's book; and he presents his case in the simplest and most effective way, namely, by letting the Rabbis (or the Rabbins, as the author prefers to call them) speak for themselves; and the conclusions of Dr. Abelson have been arrived at after the case against the Rabbis has been put again and again in the strongest way, after a full and open trial, after the fullest and frankest evidence in the shape of an enormous quantity of representative material brought together from the whole extent of Talmudic and Midrashic literature, supplemented, now and then, by references to medieval writers like Maimonides, Bahye, Nachmanides, etc. The comparing and contrasting, at each step, of the ideas of the Jewish Doctors with the cognate and parallel ideas of contemporary Jewish-Hellenic, Apocryphal, and Christian writers—and all in the light of the best theological work of the present day—is done in such a way as to bring Judaism and Christianity, Talmud and New Testament much nearer than, I think, has been done before.

One of the chief difficulties, perfectly realised by Dr. Abelson, of utilising the Rabbinical writings and teachings for purposes of comparison with contemporary semi-Jewish and non-Jewish literature, is the singularity of style and method of the Rabbis, whose teachings and writings have come down to us in a crude mass of miscellaneous pieces, written, moreover, in a highly idiomatic style and possessing a strong flavour of the expansiveness and semi-playfulness of table-talk and inner-circle conversation. "The Rabbins were so fond of playing with words," as the author puts it, "that it is not always easy to decide whether their interpretations based upon these plays are to be taken as maxims with a serious ethical purpose, or as mere exhibitions of skill in the use of words." The whole is unequal in merit and sometimes self-contradictory, so that it requires wide reading and a thorough assimilation of its spirit before one can venture to extract from it any sort of system. Dr. Abelson's equipment on these two points has enabled him to place side by side large numbers of passages bearing on the same subject, expressing the same idea in a variety of ways and in various connections, thus making sure that the idea was an integral part of Jewish thought and teaching.

"The conclusion," says Dr. Abelson, "has accordingly forced itself upon me that on the subject of Divine Immanence, Judaism has had nothing to learn from Christianity. The Rabbins endued their own doctrines of Immanence by their studies of the O.T., and more so by their interpretations of their own life-experiences in the light of O.T. teachings. Even had Paul never lived, the Jew would still have been the heir to the belief in a Father that indwells him and indwells the universe. There is a mysticism in Rabbinical literature which is a source of perennial strength to the religion of the Jew and a guarantee of its continuity."

To be sure, the God of the Jews (no less than the God of the Christians) is a transcendent God—that is to say, He is above and beyond the universe; nor is it denied that the Jewish religion is full of statutory observances. These are the more obvious traits of Rabbinical Judaism. They lie on the surface and, therefore, immediately strike the unsympathetic observer, who finds it difficult to dig beneath the rugged, almost inaccessible surface of things, and who is, moreover, obsessed by a stereotyped method of grouping and classification. It is perhaps only little more than a liking for antithesis that prompts Professor Henry Sidgwick, as quoted by Dr. Abelson, to contrast "the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees" with the "inwardness" which "is the distinctive feature of the Christian code." The idea that to the Jew God is at once above and in the world, that Rabbinical Judaism is at once formal and mystical, would interfere with pre-conceived calculations. The contrary view, therefore, is explicable and, therefore, excusable on the part of one who only knows the Rabbis from hearsay or, at least, from a superficial acquaintance. And yet a perusal of Dr. Abelson's book would lead to the conclusion that "few could have realised the presence of God more acutely, more intensely, than the Rabbinic Jew, who aimed at sanctifying even the smallest details of the physical life, because he regarded nothing as being too humble to come within the purview of Him whose glory fills the universe, and whose word is the mainstay of all."

Now let us see how Dr. Abelson acquits himself of the task of demonstrating that the two best elements of religion—namely, mysticism and the idea of the immanence of God—are abundantly present in Rabbinical Judaism. The question resolves itself into: (*a*) Is the Jewish God merely the great Artificer, or is He also an ever-living force, permeating the universe and the individual ?

(*b*) Is the Jewish belief in, and worship of, God, a mere matter of routine, obedience to authority, etc., or does the Jew live and feel God as an ever-living and fresh experience ?

Before coming to the Rabbinical period which forms the staple of the book under review, the author naturally passes under review (2nd chapter) the bearing of Biblical literature on the God-idea, following it up (3rd chapter) with post-Biblical but extra-Rabbinical literature. "It wants little knowledge of Old Testament lore to know that the view of God which was uppermost in the minds of its inspired writers was Transcendent and Immanent. God's dwelling is far removed from the haunts of man, high above in the highest heavens, unapproachable, shrouded in secrecy that no mortal gaze can penetrate." "A mysterious secrecy hedged round the names of angels, as well as the Divine names in the Bible." This is proved from the case of Jacob and Manoah. God's nature is unknowable ; His dwelling is too distant from man, and so forth. "But yet the Bible is not without its indication of the contrary view." Psalm CXXXIX. is aptly quoted for a full realisation of the Omnipresence of God. The idea of the fatherhood of God finds expression in numerous Biblical passages. The Psalms especially abound in devotional utterances. "An outburst such as this ('All my bones shall say, O Lord, who is like unto Thee ? ') would be impossible did not the author feel that God the Father . . . had spread His tabernacle, so to speak, in the very inmost recesses of his being. . . ."

With the close of the Bible we have a divergence of religious thought and influence, each system picking up on its way and assimilating to itself a greater or smaller number of foreign elements. The result is the writings of Philo, the Apocrypha, etc. God's manifestation in the working of the universe, His personal relationship with the world and with the individual, were being reflected upon, felt and experienced by Jews of all types of thought, resulting in a corresponding variety of terms and modes of speech. But underneath the inevitable divergence of ideas there is a great deal common to them all—a fact which strikes the most superficial student. But it is Dr. Abelson's merit to have made of it a close scientific study, analysing the various connotations of the various terms, pointing to the immanence-idea of God, used by Philo, by the writer of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, etc., and at each step contrasting them with parallel modes of speech in Rabbinical literature. In fact, Dr. Abelson, throughout his book, is very strong on the point of analysis and classification. Thus he finds that "Wisdom" of the *Wisdom of*

Solomon (*a*) is a Divine emanation permeating the universe (like the *Pneuma* of the Stoics); (*b*) is sometimes identified with God and sometimes not; (*c*) acts as a protector; (*d*) is antagonistic to sin, and yet is said not to cast off the sinner. All the points just enumerated are discoverable in the Shechinah of Rabbinical literature. The author subjects to a similarly close scrutiny the Logos of Philo, a philosopher whose habitual views in reference to God's relationship to the universe and man are by no means easy to fix.

After tracing the many suggestive parallels and contrasts between Philo and Rabbinical literature, Dr. Abelson grapples with the main object of his work, which consists in demonstrating the Immanence of God as well as the mystical idea in Rabbinical Judaism. Dr. Abelson is very lavish in his facts and moderate in his conclusions. A tremendous amount of facts, consisting of Rabbinical utterances, classified under such headings as "Shechinah," "Shechinah as light," "Shechinah in Israel," "Ruah-Hokodesh," "Memra," etc., are welded together by the author's appropriate remarks and suggestive parallels from other literatures. Such terms as Shechinah, Ruah-Hokodesh, etc., were incorporated within the thought and speech of the Rabbis; and it is through the use of these terms and the ideas revolving around them that we get an insight in the world-thought of Rabbinical Judaism. For just as the Bible, in its bare word, did not suffice for the legal requirements of an increasingly complex society, but had to be supplemented by the Oral Law, so the Bible had to be supplemented, interpreted and re-interpreted in order to meet the constantly acquired fresh religious, poetical, and philosophical ideas. It is true, as Dr. Abelson says, that "the ancient Rabbins were not philosophers," but "went nearer poetry than philosophy." It matters little whether their ideas and beliefs were expressed in philosophical or poetic language; the important thing to know is that such a thought as that whenever Israel was exiled the Shechinah went into exile with them, was a faithful reflection of the idea that the Divine Presence never forsakes Israel.

Dr. Abelson traces the term Shechinah from its original sense of "God's dwelling-house, the abiding of God in a certain spot," through all its ramifications of poetical, mystical and religious significations. Here there was a crowd of ideas realised in the life-experiences of the Rabbis, struggling, as it were, for expression; and here there was the term "Shechinah," waiting ready to meet the need. "From meaning the abode of God, the Shechinah gradually came to mean God Himself. The material element was dropped, and the spiritual idea alone was retained: Shechinah became coined as a new word signifying the Godhead quite apart from any notion of place." But it was the Godhead under its aspect of immanence. Hence, as a rule, such expressions which allude to God being in the midst of His people are translated by the Targum by "Shechinah."

In the thirteenth chapter, which treats of the Memra of Targumic literature, the author adopts the view of Nachmanides (as against that of Maimonides) that the "Memra," "besides being a mere artifice for avoiding anthropomorphism . . . has, to the minds of the Targumic authors, some real theological connotation"; "that it connotes the manifestations on earth and among men of several aspects of God, holding all things under omnipresent sway"; "that it has affinities in meaning to both Shechinah and Holy Spirit . . ."; "that it has affinities with the employment of 'Wisdom' in the Apocryphal literature"; "that it is not used as an intermediary between God and man. . . ." Very suggestive is the parallel drawn between the ideas underlying the terms "Memra" and "Torah" of Jewish literature, on the one hand, and the "Word" of John's Gospel and "Christ" of Paul's epistles, on the other. Cognate to the Shechinah is the term Ruah-Hokodesh, or Holy Spirit, which is treated in a number of chapters, and in the full and elaborate method already familiar to the reader. After we have made the tour through the whole field of Rabbinics, we are treated to a discussion, in the chapter entitled "The Rabbinic God," on the impressions we have carried away. "To what general results," asks the author, "have these investigations led?" On the negative side, the author comes to the conclusion that "the Rabbinic God is not, as Weber and others have insisted, a kind of Absolute, dwelling in impenetrable aloofness from man and the world. . . ." Secondly, the absence of any "dogmas expressing the intercommunication between God and man in the senses conveyed by the Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and the Atonement" does in no way detract from the Rabbis' conception of God. "Thirdly, the Rabbinic conception of God is not that of a rigid and narrow legalism." The legal and the mystical were both "warp and woof of one texture." "Every act of obedience to the Law had a mystical basis."

On the positive side the author's conclusions are: That "the Rabbinic idea of God is both transcendent and immanent. . . . The God who sits upon the circle of the earth and views its inhabitants as grasshoppers, underwent a great transformation in the crucible of his mind and heart." "The Rabbis' God is intensely personal." Enough has been quoted from this chapter to show the thoroughness of analysis which Dr. Abelson has brought to bear on the subject.

In the two chapters dealing respectively with "Sin and Evil" and the "Rabbinic view of Prayer," Dr. Abelson proves himself a master-theologian. All problems are fully discussed in the light of modern science and theology, and the Rabbinic views are thoroughly analysed. To the Rabbis the existence of the evil impulse (Yezer-Hara) was not a matter of speculation, but a reality. They dealt with the moral facts as they found them, having more or less personified them. But, all the same, it is profoundly interesting to interpret their thoughts into modern theological terms. The same remarks may be applied to the question of prayer, from the chapter on which I cull a few representative sentences. "Prayer is the spiritual action of the soul turned towards God as its true and adequate object." "Prayer becomes its own answer, its own reward. The assurance of the nearness of God swamps all other considerations. Prayer is the end as well as the means."

But perhaps the best chapter in the book is the last but one on "Rabbinic Mysticism." It is a perfect essay in itself wherein Dr. Abelson holds the attention of the reader by a masterly display of the full extent of the mystical side of the Jewish religion. "Mysticism, of whatever phase, must be, by its very nature, the most individualistic type of religion. The mystic believes in God, not because he had been taught to believe in Him, but because he can experience God. . . . His worship of God and his praying to Him are the result of his *own* realisation. . . ." The question is then asked, since "one of the distinguishing marks of Rabbinical Judaism is its persistent and pervading formalism," constraining the individual "to sink his own idiosyncrasies and merge himself in the main body," how then "can the existence of a mystical element in the Rabbinic theology be consistently maintained ?" Here Dr. Abelson ingeniously applies to Judaism the religious development theory of Baron Von Hügel in his famous work on *The Mystical Element of Religion*. According to that theory, any religion as soon as it emerges from fetishism passes on its way forward through three stages, which we may briefly call the institutional (or authoritative), the intellectual, and the mystical. The analogy is taken from the development of the human mind from the state of childhood to that of youth and adolescence. The child obeys his elders because he is told to; the youth reasons and reflects and differentiates between right and wrong, reasonable and unreasonable; finally there emerges the full-matured intellect which not only reasons, but also wills and feels, in which stage the logical faculties are overflowed, as it were, by the emotions. No sooner do we get hold of the above theory than we are irresistibly moved to apply it, with Dr. Abelson, to Judaism. The ancient Jewish religion had for its centre the sacrificial cult which was national, historical, with very little of individuality and initiation. The prophets were the moral intellectuals who asked the why and the wherefore of the ceremonial and laid the religious stress on the ethical and the moral, to the exclusion of the rest. "Not till the exilic period do we reach the third and highest conception of religion." That is to say, that conception of religion according to which the religious ceremonies from being outward and national were transmuted into individual and inward religious exercises. "The mystic relies for his knowledge of God upon his innate faculties." And it is with these faculties that he tests "the truth or untruth of that other constituent of religion, viz. the revealed, authoritative, traditional, historical, etc." As the best typical examples, the author takes the Bible and the Sabbath. The belief in the Bible as the Word of God could not maintain its ground against the severe and unremitting criticism of the innate faculties unless the Bible was found to answer the needs of those faculties. The Sabbath dramatically pictures for us "the baby of the Rabbinic epoch, born into an arena where strict formalism of the Sabbath reigns supreme." As he grows up so do the numberless Sabbatical ordinances "grow round him with an ever-increasing sternness. But with the growth of the external obligations, there goes hand in hand a corresponding quickening of his own subjective impulses to look upon the Sabbath as the acme of spiritual joy. . . . The Sabbath of tradition was the counterpart of his own heart's Sabbath. . . . The authoritativeness of the traditional element is of the strongest possible. It is sacrosanct. It is of God. Yet it would never have found the endorsement it did, unless there were hearts and souls attuned to its apprehension as the Word of God."

Dr. Abelson, in epitomising Baron Von Hügel's theory, says that "it must not be supposed that these three stages (in the natural history of the mind's growth) never overlap." . . . "And to complete the analogy (between the successive stages in the growth of the human mind and that of religion) there is the same overlapping of the stages here, as we saw in the case of the child's mind-growth." To which we may add the following reflections: That each individual may, and often does, pass through these stages in his own person. For the baby so picturesquely dramatised for us by Dr. Abelson is as true a picture of modern Jewries, Eastern as well as Western, as well as of the ancient Rabbinic periods. Further, as Max Müller pointed out, religions not only progress, but also retrogress and degenerate. Taking all this in combination, we get a much clearer insight than we ever did before into the religious transformations and reformations of the world's history. For what was the meaning of Luther's reformation but that the Catholic Church ceased to find response in the hearts of the peoples of Northern Germany. Their religious feelings that attached themselves to the authority of the Church degenerated and gave way to new feelings which corresponded to the authority of the Book. The loss of touch between Rabbinism and the subjective religious element in the individual will explain, to a great extent, the Jewish religious reformation in Germany in the last century as well as other reformations going on since then in various directions. From the same point of view can be explained a great deal of the contention between Jews and Christians as to where the Word of God ceases and the Word of God commences.

It is a sign of good writing that the net result is not a dead stop, but a stimulus to further thought; and Dr. Abelson's book stands this test in a very high degree. It must further be added that Dr. Abelson constantly keeps us in touch with the best thinkers and writes of modern times, and the way he brings out the likeness between the Jewish religious outlook and that of such religious writers as F. W. Newman, R. A. Armstrong, etc., may look paradoxical to the outsider, but it can be corroborated from living experience amongst millions of Jews to-day.

There is, in the book under review, a combination of scholarship, literary excellence, breadth of view and depth of religious thought, as well as timeliness of publication, which should recommend it to a wide circle of readers. H. SPERLING.

The Philosophy of Change*

CHANGE and Permanence appear to be equally obvious in the world of reality. Sometimes we are impressed by the "everlasting hills"; sometimes by the lowly grass and flowers of the field which flourish in the morning and wither in the evening. Both are impressive, and both seem real to the unreflective mind. But to the reflective mind trying to construct a unified and consistent view of the world the matter causes difficulty. Permanence and Change, it is felt, cannot both of them be real. Either the Permanent alone is real, and Change is mere appearance or illusion; or else only the ever Changing is real, and Permanence is mere appearance. Such, at any rate, is the position assumed by the pioneers of Western Philosophy in the sixth century B.C. On the one hand, Parmenides of Elea maintained that only the Permanent is real. On the other hand, Heraclitus of Ephesus taught the doctrine of a universal flux of things, though his belief in their fleetingness does not seem to have cheered him sufficiently to save him from the nickname of "the weeping philosopher."

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* *La Perception du Changement*, conférences faites à l'Université d'Oxford, les 26 et 27 Mai, 1911. Par Henri Bergson. pp. 37. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1911.

In one form or another the problem of Change is one of the apparently permanent problems of philosophy. Every system of philosophy has had to deal with this ancient bequest. And the newest philosophy is no exception. Indeed, in the philosophy of Prof. Bergson, the problem assumes exceptional importance, and his suggested solution of it forms the very foundation of his whole system. So much so, forsooth, that on Prof. Bergson's own suggestion his philosophy has recently been named "the Philosophy of Change" (see the Preface to H. Wildon Carr's *Henri Bergson: the Philosophy of Change*).

According to Prof. Bergson, many of the apparently insurmountable difficulties which philosophers have encountered are due entirely to a misapprehension of the character of Change, and would disappear with a right apprehension of it. Change is no mere appearance or illusion, it is very real—in fact, it is reality. Change is real, and reality is an incessantly changing reality. Only to grasp it properly we must perceive it from within. We are too apt to *think* about it and to *speak* about it without making any effort to *perceive* it or intuit it. The consequence is that we form an inaccurate idea of it; and though we continue to think of it, to speak of it, and even to grumble at it, we philosophise about life and reality as though Change had no place in the world.

The world is a continuous whole, infinitely rich in its details, and infinitely various in its eternal flux. Could man but live the life of a leisurely onlooker, neither lashed by the struggle for existence nor leashed by capacities of such limited extent, he might enjoy ceaselessly a spectacle infinitely rich and infinitely various, beyond the dream of the liveliest imagination. But then man has only very limited powers of apprehension, and his life's rôle is not that of a spectator. In order to live at all, man must act. Action is his principal business, and all else is subsidiary to this. Now in order to act successfully, man finds it convenient to overlook all that is not strictly relevant to his activity. The consequence of this is that for one thing that he grasps a thousand slip through his fingers ; the one continuous world is broken up into isolated fragments ; and what changes but slowly is treated as though it changed not at all. Perception is supplanted by thought : full insight into a world so rich in detail is supplanted by ghostly ideas and bloodless categories. The one universe is broken up into many discontinuous things. And what is essentially dynamic is treated as though it were static.

Only the artist has escaped to some extent the common pitfall of ordinary men. The artist is essentially one who is detached from the struggle for existence, from the rush and turmoil of men of action, from the busyness of workaday life. He can consequently look at reality for its own sake, just to find out what it is in itself, without regard to the needs of any action of his. In one way or another, accordingly, the artist does perceive much that is overlooked by ordinary men. And he not only sees this himself, but he also helps others to see much more than they would otherwise have seen. With his unusual gift of insight goes a power of revelation. The great artist does not create what has hitherto been non-existent ; he only sees and reveals what has always been there, though hitherto overlooked.

Philosophy, according to Plato, is a kind of Art, indeed, the highest of Arts. Prof. Bergson strongly reminds one of this view of Plato's when he calls upon philosophers to emulate the full, live insight of the artist, and try to perceive or intuit reality from within, in all its fullness of detail and with all its incessant change. Even the artist is usually one-sided. His exceptional intimacy with reality is mostly limited to its aspect of colour, or form, or sound. The philosopher must endeavour to "see it whole." Thoroughly to perceive the world of change is thus, according to Prof. Bergson, at once the great problem of all future philosophy and also the key to all its other problems.

A. Wolf.

The Psychology of Laughter*

MAN is sometimes tempted to regard life as an hereditary disease rather than as a divine gift. But even in such moments of ill-humour, or more especially then, he must think gratefully of the three great charms that help to protect him from the ills of life—Forgetfulness, Hope, and Laughter. Forgetfulness relieves him from the burden of the past; Hope helps him to face the future; Laughter enables him to beguile the present. Perhaps Laughter is the greatest of these, for present evils are apt to loom largest. And Laughter is not only a boon but also a distinction. It is to be met with only to a slight extent among the lower animals. Man is the laughing animal, *par excellence.* But man is also a rational animal. Not content merely to laugh and be merry when he may, he must needs try to *understand* his laughter. His efforts in this direction have not been particularly fruitful, contributing very little to his enlightenment and less to his entertainment. Prof. Bergson's book, however, is an exception in both respects. It explains a good deal (though it does not explain everything), and it is decidedly pleasant reading.

"What does laughter mean? What is the basal element in the laughable? What common ground can we find between the grimace of a merry-andrew, a play upon words, an equivocal situation in a burlesque and a scene of high comedy? What method of distillation will yield us invariably the same essence from which so many different products borrow either their obtrusive odour or their delicate perfume?"

In these words Prof. Bergson formulates the problem discussed in the book under review. It will be pointed out presently that this way of formulating the problem involves a certain amount of question-begging. For the present, however, it will be more important to state Prof. Bergson's general answer to the above question. He begins by explaining that man is not only the principal *laughing* animal, but also the principal *laughed at* animal. In both these respects, then, laughter is essentially human. And its function is to serve the human and the social by checking all fossilising and anti-social tendencies. It is a kind of mild rebuke to the man who is degenerating into an automatic mechanism by becoming a creature of habit or routine; and it is a form of social "ragging," a way of "breaking in" the recluse or the eccentric to the forms and conventions of society. Prof. Bergson does not explicitly connect his theory of Laughter with his general philosophy of Life. But they obviously are connected in some way, as will appear even more clearly from the following extract, which expresses Prof. Bergson's general view of the nature and function of laughter, in his own inimitable language :

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* *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic.* By Henri Bergson. Authorised Translation by C. Brereton and F. Rothwall. pp. viii, 200. Macmillan and Co., London, 1911.

"What life and society require of each of us is a constantly alert attention that discerns the outlines of the present situation, together with a certain elasticity of mind and body to enable us to adapt ourselves in consequence. *Tension* and *elasticity* are two forces, mutually complementary, which life brings into play. If these two forces are lacking in the body to any considerable extent, we have sickness and infirmity and accidents of every kind. If they are lacking in the mind, we find every degree of mental deficiency, every variety of insanity. Finally, if they are lacking in the character, we have cases of the gravest inadaptability to social life, which are the sources of misery and at times the causes of crime. Once these elements of inferiority that affect the serious side of existence are removed . . . the person can live. . . . But society . . . is not content with simply living, it insists on living well. What it now has to dread is that each one of us . . . will . . . give way to the easy automatism of acquired habits. Another thing it must fear is that the members of whom it is made up, instead of aiming after an increasingly delicate adjustment of wills which will fit more and more perfectly into one another, will confine themselves to . . . a cut-and-dried agreement. . . . Society will therefore be suspicious of all *inelasticity* of character, of mind and even of body, because it is the possible sign of a slumbering activity as well as of an activity with separatist tendencies, that inclines to swerve from the common centre round which society gravitates. . . . And yet society cannot intervene at this stage by material repression, since it is not affected in a material fashion. It is confronted with something that makes it uneasy, but only as a symptom—scarcely a threat, at the very most a gesture. A gesture, therefore, will be its reply. Laughter must be something of this kind, a sort of *social gesture.*"

Prof. Bergson's suggestion is certainly striking and original, and the abundance of illustration with which he tries to verify it is very ingenious. But it seems highly doubtful whether the theory can stand all the strain which Prof. Bergson has put upon it. Although it explains some forms of laughter it cannot explain all forms of it. Perhaps no one theory can do this. And this is what was hinted at above already. The way in which Prof.

Bergson formulates the problem of laughter seems to take it for granted that there is one " basal element," one " common ground " to be found in all kinds of laughable situations, if we could only apply the right " method of distillation." If that were so, then, of course, one and the same hypothesis would more or less account for all forms of laughter. But is that necessarily so? At the very least this very question, namely, whether all forms of laughable situations have something in common which makes them laughable, is part of the problem to be solved. Merely to take it for granted is to beg the question to that extent. Indeed, Prof. Bergson himself realises this. As he proceeds he has to resort to other explanations, such as the spirit of sheer playfulness, or even of mischief; but he persists in regarding the above account as a kind of *leitmotiv* which is to accompany all other kinds of explanations. In this respect Prof. Sully's *Essay on Laughter* is much more satisfactory, and does fuller justice to the manysidedness of the subject. The comparison is not altogether fair, as Prof. Sully's treatise is three or four times as large as Prof. Bergson's little book, which, moreover, was published originally as a series of articles in the *Revue de Paris*, and was not intended to be an exhaustive account of the subject. Still, Prof. Bergson's *Laughter* is a strikingly original contribution to the subject, as was remarked by Prof. Sully soon after its appearance in the original. That the substitution of mechanical rigidity for life-like pliancy is at the basis of one very comprehensive department of the ludicrous, of this there is little doubt. And Prof. Bergson has the merit of having been the first to make this explicit. Where Prof. Bergson seems to err is in trying to bring *all* forms of the ludicrous under this formula—an attempt which leads him occasionally to explanations which are extremely ingenious but unconvincing.

A detailed discussion of the subject would be out of place here. Prof. Bergson's little book can be read through in a very short time, and anyone interested in the subject may readily turn to Prof. Sully's *Essay on Laughter* for further information and criticism. Attention may, however, be specially directed to one point suggested by the reading of Prof. Bergson's *Laughter*.

" Our laughter (writes Prof. Bergson) is always the laughter of a group. It may, perchance, have happened to you, when seated in a railway carriage or at a *table d'hôte*, to hear travellers relating to one another stories which must have been comic to them, for they laughed heartily. Had you been one of their company, you would have laughed like them; but, as you were not, you had no desire whatever to do so. A man who was once asked why he did not weep at a sermon, when everybody else was shedding tears, replied : ‘ I don’t belong to this parish ! ’ What that man thought of tears would be still more true of laughter. However spontaneous it seems, laughter always implies a kind of secret freemasonry, or even complicity, with other laughers, real or imaginary. How often has it been said that the fuller the theatre, the more uncontrolled the laughter of the audience ! On the other hand, how often has the remark been made that many comic effects are incapable of translation from one language to another, because they refer to the customs and ideas of a particular social group ! ”

The points here emphasised are such as are frequently realised by Jews, who have tried to reproduce “ Yiddish ” jokes and stories in some other tongue. There can be little doubt that peoples differ considerably in the kinds of things they laugh at. Irish, Scotch, and “ Yiddish ” jokes have their several distinct “ flavours,” which are easy enough to recognise though very difficult to describe. Goethe was of opinion that a man’s laughter is the best clue to his character. Certainly it is an important clue ; and it is a clue to the character not of individuals only, but also of peoples. At any rate, it is a clue well worth following up. A collection of “ Jewish ” jokes and funny stories would furnish valuable material for Jewish folk-psychology. And anyone who could be induced to compile such a collection would render a real service to the study of Jewish character. Perhaps the Editor of this *Review* would undertake to chronicle in its pages any such stories as may be sent him by willing co-operators. The work proposed is excellently adapted to co-operative work.

A word in conclusion. It is impossible to take leave of Prof. Bergson’s essays on Laughter without alluding, however briefly, to his view of Art. This subject is introduced incidentally in the discussion on the relation of Comedy to Art and to Life. But the pages devoted to it (pp. 150ff.) are the finest in the book, and deserve to rank among the most brilliant of their brilliant author.

University College, *December*, 1912. A. WOLF.

A Critical Exposition of Bergson’s Philosophy. By J. M’Kellar Stewart, B.A., D.PHIL. pp. x, 304. London : Macmillan and Co. 1911.

THE popularity of Prof. Bergson’s philosophy in England is abundantly attested by the number of “ expositions ” and "criticisms" that have recently appeared in English. One is almost afraid that too many people are content to take their Bergson "potted," though it is to be hoped that, both for their own sakes and for Prof. Bergson's sake, these introductory manuals are used only as introductions to the master's own books, which have all been translated into English. Still, introductory expositions, if properly used, may be helpful. Nearly all the summaries and expositions which have appeared so far are remarkably good. And it is consequently no small compliment to Dr. Stewart to say that his exposition is at once the fullest and the best that is available in English, apart from Bergson's own books.

Dr. Stewart devotes half the volume to a concise exposition of the root ideas of Bergson's philosophy, stripped of the brilliant metaphorical dress in which Bergson has clothed them, and divorced from the charm of Bergson's peculiarly graceful style. This entails some obvious disadvantages. But it also has its recompense. For, as Dr. Stewart rightly remarks, "Metaphor is not always conducive to clearness," and illustration is not argument. As already remarked, the exposition is quite reliable.

The second half of the volume is devoted to a criticism of Bergson's philosophy. Dr. Stewart's criticism of Bergson's view of intelligence voices the opinion of a great many philosophical readers of Bergson. Bergson is quite right in insisting that conceptual construction, be it carried ever so far, can never exhaust the nature of reality. But he goes too far when he contends that our concepts of reality are mere symbols of reality, that concepts, in fact, "negate the inwardness of reality altogether." Our conceptions of reality may be very far from being complete, and yet they may be true as far as they go. Dr. Stewart's other criticisms of Bergson sometimes seem to take too much for granted as regards the philosophic standpoint from which the criticism is made. But they are always suggestive, and likely to help the reader to see things as others than Bergson see them.

The chief significance of Bergson's philosophy for future thought is to be found, according to Dr. Stewart, in the emphasis which it lays on the fact that activity is an essential feature of reality; not merely that individuals are active, but that the whole must be interpreted in terms of activity. Apart from this there does not seem to be very much in the new philosophy to attract Dr. Stewart, who neatly concludes his book by pertinently applying to Bergson himself what Bergson had said of M. Felix Ravaisson-Mollien: "The history of philosophy brings prominently before our minds an unceasingly renewed effort of reflection which labours to attenuate difficulties, to measure, with a growing approximation, a reality incommensurable with our thought. At intervals a soul arises which seems to triumph over these complications by dint of simplicity—the soul of an artist or a poet, which, remaining near its source, reconciles, in a harmony appreciable by the heart, terms irreconcilable by the intelligence. The language which it speaks when it borrows the voice of philosophy is not comprehended in the same way by everybody. Some judge it vague, as indeed it is, in its expression. Others feel it precise, because they experience all that it suggests. To many ears it bears only the echo of a past which has disappeared; but others apprehend in it, as in a dream, the joyous chant of the future. The work of Ravaisson will leave behind it, then, very diverse impressions, as every philosophy must do which addresses itself to feeling as much as to reason." A. Wolf.

Am Tor des Abends; Lieder vom Heimweg. Von Theodor Zlocisti. Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag. M. 1.20. Bound, M. 2.

It is some ten years since the author's first collection of verses appeared; and this poet is, therefore, no novice at his art. He has a style all his own—pure, light, and harmonious. He does not translate every and any experience into verse. Subjective feeling and subject matter are mutually in accord. Every line of his writing, however, proves that his work springs from the awakening spirit of the Jewish people; and, although he is no didactic poet, it is in the light of the experience of his people—of the wonderful change in the life of modern Jewry—that his poems are best appreciated.

> "Viel tausend Töne durchbeben mein Lied:
> Seufzer der Ahnen und Grabgebete,
> Und die Siegerlust, die nur Kränze sieht. . . ."

Thus does this poet himself describe the melody of his Muse. The title of the book echoes resignation. The poet seems prematurely prepared to put down his pen. None-the-less, he is not yet at the evening of his day, unless the evening be the eve of yet richer creative activity.

Palestina Handbuch. Von Davis Trietsch. Third edition. pp. 340. Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1912. M. 3.

Palestine has always presented peculiar interest to travellers who seek therein, first and foremost, for historical and religious interest. This fact is reflected in literature, as the popular handbooks and guides reveal. It escapes many, however, that Palestine has also an actual practical living interest. Herr Trietsch presents to us the living realities of present-day Palestine in a book, now in its third edition, which gives detailed and reliable information concerning the social, economic, and political conditions of the country. The intensive cultivation which the Holy Land requires, in consequence of its climatic and economic state, is fully described. The author gives information also about the commercial and industrial activities in Palestine. The industries are especially those connected with agriculture. The circumstances of town life and sanitary arrangements are also treated in this book, and particularly interesting is the chapter on domestic architecture, revealing the transformation which European immigrants have wrought in this direction.

Die Juden in der Katholischen Legende. Von Heinrich Löwe.
pp. 96. Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag. M. 2.

THE author seeks to indicate how the popular spirit helped to shape the course of Jewish history in the Middle Ages ; and to this end he turns away from the study of political and economic forces to the study of legendary material. He succeeds, indeed, in showing how the old popular idea that foreign religious communities practise in secret all sorts of hatred against the ruling majority, exercised great influence in adversely affecting the Jews. This influence not only affected the economic and political relations of the Jews, but also the art and literature of Jews and non-Jews alike. The illustrations of the Middle Ages are replete with pictures of supposed Jewish ritual murders and outrages against the Host. Literature has preserved remnants of the legends of the Middle Ages.

The book unites a scientific with a popular presentation of its subject, and includes a useful bibliography at the end. There are seven illustrations reproduced from old originals. The author has thoroughly mastered his material, which he presents in a manner that makes reading both easy and interesting.

Catalogue of Hebrew and Samaritan MSS. in the British Museum.
By G. Margoliouth, M.A. Part III, sections ii–viii, 4to,
pp. 148–377. London, 1912.

THE third instalment of Mr. Margoliouth's Catalogue extends from No. 865 to No. 1041, comprising the following sections :

Ethics, Philosophy, Poetry, Philology, Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine. The work is distinguished by the same care and thoroughness which characterise the earlier parts. A specially pleasing feature is the latitude which the authorities of the British Museum allowed to the compiler, a latitude of which he made excellent use in supplementing his descriptions by extracts and literary references. With such variety of subjects an exhaustive treatment could not be expected. I therefore feel justified in jotting down a few observations which occurred to me during my perusal of the volume.

Of Isaac b. al Lātif's philosophical work שער השמים (No. 872) the Montefiore Collection not only possesses a complete MS., but abstracts from the same are given in another. The paragraph on the Hebrew version of the Boah Al Khazari only mentions Cassel's edition, which is certainly not the "most critical," since it is scarcely more than a reprint of older editions, although his commentary is of lasting value. The anonymous hygienic rules in rhymed prose (No. 925 I) are given under a different heading in Cod. Montefiore 247, 10, where they are assigned to Abraham b. Ezra. The authenticity of this statement is not beyond doubt, although something might be said in its favour. Mr. Margoliouth's suggestion that the Arabic fragment of a grammatical treatise, hailing from the Cairo Genizah, belongs to Moses b. Gikatilla's *Kitâb Alta'nīth wal tad̲kīr* is right. Two leaves of exactly the same contents, script, and size are extant in the Cambridge Genizah, so that there is scarcely any doubt that all these leaves belonged to the same volume. That the name of the author of the grammatical work פתח דברי (No. 964) was David is finally established by a note of his grandson, himself the author of a similar work (Cod. Montef., 157, 3). Since the latter lived near the end of the thirteenth century, there is the greatest probability that the before-named David was Kimchi (who died in 1235). A specimen of the *Dictionary of Difficult Words* (No. 967) is given in my *Arabic Chrestomathy*, page 31. Among the MSS. of Solomon Dafieira's work אמרי נואש, that of the Montefiore Collection is omitted. Why does the author use the ugly "Yiddish" for "Jewish-German"? The remaining instalments of this important publication will be eagerly awaited.

H. Hirschfeld.

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